S. HRG. 98-105

TO ESTABLISH REGULATIONS TO IMPLEMENT TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON

S. RES. 66

TO ESTABLISH REGULATIONS TO IMPLEMENT TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE

APRIL 14, 15, 1983

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98TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. RES. 66

To establish regulations to implement television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 14), 1983

Mr. MATHIAS (for himself, Mr. BAKER, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. GARN, and Mr. MCCLURE) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

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RESOLUTION

To establish regulations to implement television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate.

Whereas on April 21, 1982, the Senate agreed to S. Res. 20, Ninety-seventh Congress, which provided for television or radio coverage, or both, of proceedings of the Senate, subject to the adoption of a resolution containing such regulations and such rules changes as are needed to implement television or radio coverage, or both, of proceedings of the Senate: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That (a) the Senate hereby authorizes and directs that there be both television and radio broadcast coverage (together with videotape and audio recordings) of proceedings in the Senate Chamber.

(b) Such broadcast coverage shall be—

(1) provided in accordance with the provisions of this resolution,

(2) provided continuously at all times when the Senate is in session (or is meeting in Committee of the Whole), except for any time when a meeting with closed doors is ordered, and

(3) provided subject to the provisions pertaining to the Senate gallery contained in the following Standing Rules of the Senate: rule XIX, paragraphs 6 and 7, rule XXV, paragraph 1(n), and rule XXXIII, paragraph 2.

SEC. 2. The radio and television broadcast of Senate proceedings shall be—

(a) supervised and operated by the Senate,

(b) made available on a "live" basis and free of charge to (1) any accredited member of the Senate Radio and Television Correspondents Gallery, (2) the coaxial cable system of the Architect of the Capitol, and (3) such other news gathering, education, or information distributing entity as may be authorized by the Committee on Rules and Administration to receive such broadcast.

SEC. 3. The television broadcast of Senate proceedings shall follow the Presiding Officer and Senators who are recognized to speak by the Presiding Officer (including Senators who are so recognized with the consent of another Senator to interrupt such other Senator).

SEC. 4. (a) The broadcast coverage by radio and television of the proceedings of the Senate shall be implemented as provided in this section.

(b) The Architect of the Capitol, in consultation with the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, shall—

(1) construct necessary broadcasting facilities for both radio and television (including a control room and the modification of Senate sound and lighting fixtures),

(2) employ necessary expert consultants, and

(3) acquire and install all necessary equipment and facilities to (A) produce a broadcast-quality "live" audio and color video signal of such proceedings, and (B) provide an archive-quality audio and color video tape recording of such proceedings:

Provided, That the Architect of the Capitol, in carrying out the duties specified in clauses (1) through (3) of this subsection, shall not enter into any contract for the purchase or installation of equipment, for the employment of any consultant, or for the provision of training to any person, unless the same shall first have been approved by the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(c) The Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate shall (1) employ such staff as may be necessary, working in conjunction with the Senate Recording and Photographic Studios, to operate and maintain all broadcast audio and color video equipment installed pursuant to this resolution, (2) make audio and video tape recordings of Senate proceedings, (3) make copies of such recordings available, upon payment to him of a fee fixed therefor by the Committee on Rules and Administration, to Members of the Senate and to each person described in subsection (b)(1) and (3) of section 2 of this resolution, and (4) retain for ninety days after the day any Senate proceedings took place such recordings thereof, and as soon thereafter as possible, transmit to the Librarian of Congress and to the Archivist of the United States copies of such recordings: *Provided*, That the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, in carrying out the duties specified in clauses (1) and (2) of this subsection, shall comply with appropriate Senate procurement and other regulations.

(d) The Librarian of Congress and the Archivist of the United States shall each receive, store, and make available to the public, at no cost for viewing or listening on the premises where stored and upon payment of a fee equal to the cost involved through distribution of taped copies, recordings of Senate proceedings transmitted to them by the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate.

SEC. 5. (a) As soon as practicable after the necessary equipment has been installed, there shall begin a test period during which tests of radio and television coverage of Senate proceedings shall be conducted by the staffs of the Committee on Rules and Administration and of the Office of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate. Such test period shall end on such date as may be agreed upon by the majority leader, the minority leader, the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration, and the ranking minority member of such committee.

(b) During such test period—

(1) final procedures for camera direction control shall be established,

(2) coverage of Senate proceedings shall not be transmitted, except that, at the direction of the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration, such coverage may be transmitted over the coaxial cable system of the Architect of the Capitol, and

(3) recordings of Senate proceedings shall be made and retained by the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate.

SEC. 6. The use of tape duplications of broadcast coverage of the proceedings of the Senate for political or commercial purposes is strictly prohibited; and any such tape duplication furnished to any person shall be made on the condition that it not be used for political or commercial purposes.

Sec. 7. Any changes in the regulations made by this resolution shall be made only by Senate resolution. However, the Committee on Rules and Administration may adopt such procedures and such regulations, which do not contravene the regulations made by this resolution, as it deems necessary to assure the proper implementation of the purposes of this resolution and S. Res. 20, Ninety-seventh Congress.

Sec. 8. Such funds as may be necessary (but not in excess of $3,500,000) to carry out this resolution shall be expended from the contingent fund of the Senate.

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TO ESTABLISH REGULATIONS TO IMPLEMENT TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1983

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:35 a.m., in room SD-106, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., presiding.

Present: Senators Mathias, Baker, Ford, Warner, Pell, and DeConcini.

Staff present: John B. Childers, staff director; William McW. Cochrane, minority staff director; Gerald W. Siegel, minority chief counsel; John K. Swearingen, director, technical services; Ann B. Cook, chief clerk; Peggy Parrish, professional staff member (minority); Carole J. Blessington, assistant chief clerk, and Waitus A. Dowless, professional staff member.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR., CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

It is a matter of history that the National Portrait Gallery paid $5 million to have the portraits of George and Martha Washington on display half the time; the other half of the time, they spend in Boston. We make great efforts to fill the museums of Washington with the evidence of the past. We are making no effort at all to record the events of our own time with the technologies that are readily available to us. This seems to me to be something of an anomaly.

But the bill before us will, I think, rectify that problem. It will have archival value by providing for the recording of the proceedings of the U.S. Senate, both visually and orally. It will provide for a lasting record of what has actually occurred in the Senate—not what may be revised and extended in the record, but what actually happened. It seems to me that is of great value.

Since the resolution was printed, there have been a number of cosponsors, and at this time, the record should reflect that the cosponsors include Senator Baker, Senator DeConcini, Senator Garn, Senator McClure, Senator Goldwater, Senator Pressler, Senator Roth, Senator Percy, Senator Weicker, Senator Andrews, Senator Kasten, Senator Specter, Senator Armstrong, Senator Symms, Senator Stevens, Senator Cochran, Senator Quayle, and Senator Moynihan.

Let me now ask the ranking minority member, Governor Ford, if he has a statement to make.

Senator **Ford**. I thank the Chairman. I have no opening statement. I look forward to the witnesses today, and I appreciate them coming more than I can say.

I made mention as I passed the press a few moments ago that we really had them out today, and they let me know right quick that I did not get them out today, that the witnesses got them out today. And so I am very proud that they are here, and we have all these cameras. I invite them to come to the Energy Committee as we begin our debate on the deregulation of natural gas. If we could have this kind of a group of cameras in that committee hearing, I think the consumers of this country might understand the deregulation of natural gas issue better.

I thank the Chairman and look forward to the witnesses.

The **Chairman**. Senator Baker.

Senator **Baker**. Mr. Chairman, I have said so much on this subject that I am tempted to refrain and to conserve all of our time for our distinguished panel of witnesses, but in typical senatorial fashion, I will not.

First, let me express my deep gratitude to all of the witnesses for their appearance today, particularly Mr. Cronkite, who occupies such a distinguished position in the public information business and television industry, and I think his insights will be especially useful to this committee and the Senate.

Mr. Chairman, first of all, I ask unanimous consent that my full statement may appear in the record as if delivered.

The **Chairman**. Without objection, so ordered.

TESTIMONY OF HON. HOWARD M. BAKER, JR., A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF TENNESSEE

Senator **Baker**. Mr. Chairman, while I had hoped that television cameras would be in place along the gallery rails by now, I nonetheless am pleased to elaborate on my strongly held conviction that the time has come to extend public access to the Senate's deliberations through audio and video telecommunications.

The principal arguments for televising the Senate are well known by now: Public galleries have graced the Senate since 1795, and television is nothing more than an extension of those galleries; the committees of the Senate have done business under the TV lights for years, and the House of Representatives has televised its floor proceedings since March 1979, without calamity to the Republic; it should not be necessary for an American citizen to make an expensive pilgrimage to Washington to see his Government in action when techology can make him an eyewitness to history in his own home; and Congress now spends more than $18 million a year to provide a written transcript of floor proceedings. An individual annual subscription to the Congressional Record costs $218. The printed word does not communicate the energy, the feelings, the pathos, nor the humor that humanizes the consideration of the great issues before this Republic.

But there's still more to it than that. The Senate is in danger of surrendering its special place in American Government through technological default.

The President of the United States has no hesitation about using television to sell his programs to the American people, and rightfully so. This particular President is very good at it.

Spirited and colorful floor debate from the House of Representatives—a finely calibrated rendering of current public opinion—has become a staple of the evening news.

Even our courts have opened their doors to television cameras with no loss of dignity and with a great gain in the Nation's understanding of our system of justice. The Supreme Court is considering allowing television coverage.

Where is the Senate in all of this? Our images are reduced to the artist's caricature, our words to the reporter's paraphrase. We are cloaked in mystery, although we do the public's business. A balanced constitutional government needs the Senate to voice its opinion, and this opinion must be portrayed first-hand.

Thomas Jefferson once poured hot coffee from a cup to a saucer as a parable of the difference between the House and the Senate in American Government.

The Senate is designed to cool the passions of the moment and to serve the long-term interests of the Nation. Our 6-year terms are fixed to make us more immune to transient political pressure than our 2-year House colleagues or even the 4-year President.

Ours is intended as a moderating influence on the Nation. Ours is a forum in which the rights of minority opinion are accorded greater weight than anywhere else on earth.

If this special character is lost in the public debates of significant issues, the country will be much the poorer for it. If all political debate is televised save the Senate's, then the Senate's special prominence cannot be saved.

The vivid historical record we are squandering by the day is another source of frustration for me. What would we give today to see the great debates of Webster and Clay and Calhoun preserved on videotape? What less celebrated treasures have been lost in time? How much better could future leaders prepare for public service if they could see their Government at work first hand?

Video tapes of House proceedings are a wonderful learning tool for civics and current events teachers. These tapes give our young citizens the opportunity to know, by the best means available, how and why decisions are made by the House of Representatives. Senate debate can and should offer corresponding education.

Beyond the public's right to witness the affairs of their own Government, beyond the Senate's institutional and historical responsibilities, there is the simple truth that to sequester the Senate from television is to break a bargain that we ourselves have made.

It is no longer the political party but television that brings private citizens to public prominence. Through news coverage and through paid campaign advertising, the candidate relies on television above all to commend himself to the electorate.

Only a very few Senators remain in office who began their public service before the age of television. Still fewer could claim it has played no part in their subsequent political success.

This is not to say the Senate owes television itself anything at all. It does not. But if Senators are prepared to use television exposure to gain office, we should also be prepared to accept television coverage of our performance in office.

We need not throw ourselves on the mercy of the network news organizations. The House controls its own coverage, and the networks abide by those rules. The Senate has an equal power and, in my view, an equal obligation to the American people.

Because the electronic age has given the American people so much of a presence at other government proceedings and moments in history, to deny television and radio coverage of Senate debates is tantamount to a return to the closed door policy of the first few years of the Senate's history. The times demand this conclusion, and this democracy will thrive on the results.

Mr. Chairman, the only other remarks I would make are these. I have been in politics awhile, and in the course of my campaigns, beginning in 1964 until today, I have seen a steady, inexorable increase in the impact and importance of television on the American political system. I do not believe there is a person in the Senate at one time or the other who has not utilized television to gain election to the Senate, either in terms of paid commercials, which is the case with most of us—almost all of us—perhaps, every one of us—or certainly in terms of our opportunity to communicate with the country, with our constituents in our States, through the electronic media of radio and television.

Mr. Chairman, I find it passing strange that we will depend on television to get elected, but will not trust television to record our activities in the Senate. We grew up on television as politicians, but we blank it out when we are finally given that trust that we sought initially of the people of this country.

I am absolutely convinced, Mr. Chairman, that if we had had television in the 18th century, at the concluding decade of the 18th century, when our brilliant young founding fathers created this Republic, and when they considered whether or not the legislative process would be conducted in public or in private, had we had television then, it would have been simply a matter of routine to say that we will have open public deliberations, and we will guarantee that through the presence of a public gallery in which people may sit and watch, and by electronic coverage by radio and television. I am convinced they would have done that, but unfortunately, our modern marvels of communication were not available to them, and they had no way to know.

But Mr. Chairman, I think of television as a mere extension of that public gallery and a logical one.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that the Senate will go forward with a decision now to authorize that extension of the public gallery by electronic means. In the course of the years that I have advocated that, my friends—and they are my friends—and my colleagues have sometimes said on the floor and occasionally to me in private that television may create a political advantage for some Senators. Some say, "Well, you look good on television, and I do not," or "You sound good, and I do not." It may create a class of Senators who will have a particular advantage. I do not think that is true. I think the Senate is a magnificent institution that is made up of its 100 parts, and the country is entitled to see us, warts and all.

We have no reason to try to conceal the activities of the Senate from the American people, and I think it is patently unfair that the only way the people of the United States can see their Senate in action is to spend the money to come to Washington to see it from the public gallery.

So, Mr. Chairman, I hope this committee will receive this further testimony from these several witnesses and will go forward with reporting a resolution to the Senate. And it is mv intention, Mr. Chairman, to ask the Senate to turn to consideration of this resolution as soon as possible, consistent with the other legislative obligations that fall upon us.

I am convinced the Senate is up to the challenge and that the country will be better served to see us as we are.

One final point, Mr. Chairman. It costs us now $18 million per year to publish the printed Congressional Record. It costs us $508 per page to do that. I have no quarrel with that. But I venture the estimate, Mr. Chairman, that it would take far less than that to record the activities of the Senate on videotape and preserve it in the archives of the Congress, for this and future generations to see what really happened. That is what public government is all about.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Baker.

Senator FORD. Is the Senator open for questions?

Senator BAKER. Yes, sir.

Senator FORD. Does the resolution as you have it presented here—and it is yours, and you as majority leader, will have great influence on what transpires—is it your intention that when this resolution comes before the Senate and it is approved, will the necessary funds become available as of the passage of the resolution?

Senator BAKER. No. Mr. Chairman, I would say to my friend from Kentucky that in the ordinary course of events, this would be the authorization for those funds, the resolution would be, but it would not be the appropriation.

Senator FORD. Then, when would the appropriations come? Would the appropriations come in the normal routine of the Senate, or would the appropriation of those funds come after the rules changes which are set out in this resolution?

Senator BAKER. Well, it depends on what happens. The Appropriations Committee is a power unto itself in so many ways, and I pay my respects to them because of the flexibility they have and claim; they can do anything they want to do, just about. But my guess would be that the funds for providing these facilities would come in the first request for appropriations for the operation of the Senate. I have not talked to Senator Hatfield about that, and I do not know.

But if the Senator is asking does this automatically provide the funds, it does not. Will it be handled in a routine and regular way; it will. Does that mean it can be done this year; I hope so, but I am not certain.

Senator FORD. Then, let me ask the Senator, would it be objectionable to you if some provision were placed in S. Res. 66 to say no funds would be expended until the rules of the Senate have been approved, or that the appropriation of that money would be approved subject to the rules changes in the Senate, because you are asking for rules changes in this resolution.

Senator **Baker**. Well, I am not sure I am. But let me put a question to my friend from Kentucky. If I agree to that, does that mean he will vote for it?

Senator **Ford**. Not necessarily. That is just one question that I am getting to here. And I am talking about money, some say $3 million, some say $10 million. We really do not know. Let me ask you a second question, and that will be my final question. At $18 million per year for the printing of the Record at the rate of $508 per page, do you think television will reduce that cost?

Senator **Baker**. No, but I think the public is entitled to know what really happens, and I am increasingly distressed by the disparity between what is recorded in the Congressional Record after we get through amending it, extending it, modifying it and deleting it, and what actually took place. And I have a hunch that future scholars and historians will be a lot more concerned about what really happened than what we alleged to have happened in that official document. Now, this will not displace the Congressional Record.

We are going to have two things, then, that future generations can look at, if this passes. One, you are going to have the official transcript of the proceedings of the Senate, which will be recorded in written form in the Congressional Record; and then you are going to have the videotape, that shows life as it really was. I think that the videotape addition to the recording of the proceedings of the Senate will be so important that the slight increase in relative cost for recording it will be insignificant.

Senator **Ford**. Well, the Senator is so astute that he always gets around to the question, and I compliment him on that because it shows great leadership, but if I go back to the question I asked, your answer was yes, that it would increase the cost of the Record.

Senator **Baker**. Well, the Senator is not entitled to say what I said——

Senator **Ford**. I asked you the question, and you said that it probably would, and it probably gets to my language where I said yes, it will increase.

Senator **Baker**. Now, let me say what I want to say, Wendell, and you say what you want to say, but my answer stands in the record as it is.

Senator **Ford**. Well, we are being taped, and so we have it both ways here now.

Senator **Baker**. Which is a good proof of why we ought to go ahead and do it. You just saw a piece of the Senate as it really is.

Senator **Ford**. Well, that is fine, but we will see how you come out on tape and how you come out on paper, and it will probably be the same.

Senator **Baker**. Yes, but that is not always the same in the Senate of the United States, and we both know that.

Senator **Ford**. I do not have any ability to correct that, Senator.

The **Chairman**. Do you have any further questions?

Senator **Ford**. No.

The **Chairman**. Our next witness is the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, Mr. Stennis.

Senator **Stennis**. Mr. Chairman, I have been involuntarily absent from the Senate all of last week, and just got back. I am vitally interested, and I would like to be heard, but I would like to hear the Senator from Louisiana.

The **Chairman**. We would all like to hear from the Senator from Louisiana, and we are delighted that he is going to be fully recorded on videotape this morning.

Senator Long, would you come to the table?

Senator **Long**. I will be ready in a few minutes, Mr. Chairman. I am just editing my remarks.

The **Chairman**. I always thought your remarks were extemporaneous. [Laughter.]

Senator Warner, you have just come in. Do you have any comments?

Senator **Warner**. No, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. Senator Danforth?

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOHN C. DANFORTH, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Senator **Danforth**. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

I have no prepared remarks to edit, so I shall proceed now. Mr. Chairman, the heart of my argument against televising the Senate, at least at this time, is that television is more than merely an extension of the gallery, as Senator Baker says it is. Television is a medium which is more than just a recorder of what goes on. The nature of the medium of television is to not only record events, but actually to make events, and I think that it is clear that if the Senate were televised, the nature of what goes on on the Senate floor would be altered from what it is now. Now, some might claim that it would be altered for the better. I am not sure about that. But I think in any event, it is not true to simply say that the Senate is going to go on in its present form and be recorded by this impartial extension of the gallery.

The politicians, Mr. Chairman, by their very nature, transform their behavior in order to be on television. To the extent that a public official, an elected official, can get himself or herself on television, that is viewed as a major asset, a major plus for the politician.

Therefore, if forced to choose between two activities, one of which is going to be televised and one of which is not going to be televised, I think it is clear that a politician interested in getting himself reelected is going to choose that activity which is most likely to appear on television.

Furthermore, if the television camera is rolling, and if editors are going to make a determination as to what gets on the evening news, and therefore, before the largest possible audience, a politician is going to make sure that whatever comments he makes are the sort that will be likely to get on the evening news. There will be a premium on being colorful, there will be a premium on being able to put things in 30-second or 60-second segments.

I was not at a meeting some time ago, but I am told there was a meeting of Senators of one of the two parties, for the purpose of going over what sorts of things could best get the Senators on the evening news. One of the pieces of advice that was given by experts was to say things in 30-second or 60-second pieces. That, Mr. Chairman, is not presently the nature of debate on the floor of the Senate, and therefore, if Members of the Senate, in order to get themselves on the evening news, do transform the nature of what they are saying, I think that it is clear that there will be an effect on the operation of the Senate.

I believe that there will be more time spent trying to seek recognition, more time spent speaking on the floor. I think that there will be a premium placed on Senators offering amendments to bills.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is widely recognized by Members of the Senate that something is wrong with the way we presently do business. It is widely recognized that the Senate is overloaded, that Senators are not able to focus on large issues. They are constantly being pulled from issue to issue, rushing from meeting to meeting, that the business of the Senate is fragmented, and the recognition of this fact led the Senate last year, when this matter was on the floor of the Senate, to adopt a resolution, asking the Rules Committee to hold hearings and to analyze what changes television would effect in the Senate and to propose rules changes in order to address those activities which would be changed by televising.

This committee did meet last year. I regret to say that on reading the committee report, the Rules Committee did not address itself to fundamental changes that would be effected in the Senate. And I think that that was a mistake. It was also recognized by the majority leader, when he designated former Senators Pearson and Ribicoff to analyze how we conduct business, that something is wrong, that something is now wrong in the U.S. Senate, that we are not effectively spending our time, that we are fragmented, that we are overloaded. And last week, Senators Pearson and Ribicoff made their recommendations—I have seen only an outline of what they recommended, but they were sweeping recommendations. One of the recommendations was that under certain circumstances, on major issues—not everything, not gavel to gavel, but on major issues—the Senate would be televised. But that recommendation was made along with other recommendations for changing the procedure of the Senate. Senators Pearson and Ribicoff recommended among other things that there be limitations on the right of a Senator to get record votes; that there be limitations on the number of times a particular issue could be brought up in one session of the Senate; that there be a requirement that debate be relevant to the issue at hand; that there be a tightening of rules relating to the germaneness of amendments.

In other words, the whole question of televising the Senate, according to Senators Pearson and Ribicoff, was to be related to other modifications of Senate practice, so that the overload factor and the fragmentation factor could be considered.

It is my view, Mr. Chairman, that the present fragmentation and the present overload would be exacerbated if the Senate were to be televised without any offsetting changes in the rules relating to unlimited debate or related to the germaneness of amendments or the right to receive record votes.

Therefore, I think that instead of going in the direction we all recognized we should go when we adopted the amendment to the television resolution last year, calling for the Rules Committee to address these questions, and when Senators Pearson and Ribicoff were asked to conduct their study, instead of moving away from that fragmentation and away from that overload, I think that the effect of televising the Senate without any offsetting rules changes would in fact make things worse.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Danforth. I certainly agree with you that we should very seriously consider and, hopefully, adopt the main thrust of the Ribicoff/Pearson report, because I think it does deal with problems that afflict the Senate today and problems that need attention.

But I am wondering, on your point that television would fundamentally change the nature of the Senate, whether you have had an opportunity to look at the hearings that we held here in the spring of 1981 on Senate Resolution 20, and then again in the spring of 1982 on Senate Resolution 20, which was then modified to be Senate Resolution 436, which dealt with this very question of what the impact of television on a legislative body is.

Have you looked at that record?

Senator DANFORTH. I have looked at the committee report grow ing out of the hearing that was held last year, and the committee report finessed the whole issue. They just failed to recognize that there was going to be any real change, and it addressed itself instead simply to the placing of cameras and the lighting and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. Unfortunately, we are not pioneers in this effort. We have a good many concrete examples that we can look to for some guidance as to what the practical, actual effect of television in the Senate will be. Many national legislatures are televised—in France, in Canada, and in many other countries, they have gavel-to-gavel coverage. A number of State legislatures are televised gavel-to-gavel. And one of the inquiries that the Rules Committee made was exactly what changes occurred as a result of turning on the television cameras in the legislative chambers. True, there was some evidence that in the first week, there is a little flurry of interest and activity, but after about a week, it settles down, and there is virtually no impact on the day-to-day procedures.

Let me ask you one question. Senator Baker referred to the archival value of the video record of what actually occurs. Do you give that any weight at all, in your judgment?

Senator DANFORTH. Mr. Chairman, if a lawyer were relying on legislative history in order to make a point with respect to interpreting the meaning of legislation, and there were a variance between the Congressional Record and the televised version, I wonder as a matter of law which would take precedence. I think that that would have to be worked out.

I think that it is of perhaps some minor significance, but I think that the overriding question is how does the U.S. Senate conduct its business. And I think it would be a mistake to put that overriding consideration in second place, either to archives or to good theater or to educating the public or to any other, perhaps, worthy consideration.

With respect to the relevance of televising other legislative bodies, the House of Representatives is televised. However, there are rules in the House of Representatives, limiting debate. There are no such rules in the Senate. There are rules in the House relating to what amendments are in order with respect to any particular bill. We generally do not have such rules in place in the Senate. My concern is that the Senate is a unique body, a uniquely deliberative body, and unless we have some offsetting rules changes in the Senate, we are going to bog down.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there may not be rules limiting debate in the Senate—I hope there never will be—but there is an "Off" and "On" button on every television set, and I think that is a safety valve that takes care of that.

Senator DANFORTH. Mr. Chairman, can I just respond to that? There may be an "On" or "Off" button, but I do not think that any of us in the Senate would think for a minute that anybody would turn off the button while we are speaking, and I think that the matter of our own ego means that as long as we are speaking and the television set is grinding away, we assume that the public is watching.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not going to test that thesis. I am going to yield to Senator Ford.

Senator FORD. The cameras are on.

Senator Danforth, I want to thank you for your testimony today. You have great insight. Many of us who are troubled by the intrusion of the cameras into the chamber are troubled by many of the questions which you have addressed this morning. Many of us who are troubled by the intrusion of the camera are not worried particularly about getting on television. We can go to the TV studio and we can be quizzed by the press; it can be edited by them. But there are some other things that occurred in the last election—and I do not know what we can do about that—where from the tapes of the House proceedings certain segments were lifted out and put in antipolitical advertisements against incumbents.

Would you have any kind of thought as to what kind of rules we ought to have as they relate to control of the videotapes? When they leave the gallery, are they in the public domain then, and if anybody wants to use them for or against us, would they have the opportunity to do that?

Senator DANFORTH. Well, it seems to me that obviously, when we are debating on the floor of the Senate, we do not want to be debating for the sake of creating positive or negative television commercials for the next campaign, and if there is any way to limit that, it should be limited.

I think more likely, though, people are going to be speaking for the evening news, rather than speaking for television commercials.

Senator FORD. You referred previously to meetings that have already taken place, as to how Senators could get on more of the evening news or whatever if and as soon as the cameras are placed in the Senate. Already there are groups trying to advise press secretaries on how they can advise their Senators and prepare them to increase their ability to get on the evening news, such as dress, posturing, theatrics, and that sort of thing, and so we already find ourselves being invaded by those who want to make a buck—and I do not argue about those who want to make a dollar, but they are now beginning to say, "Come and be trained by us, and we will help you get on the evening news." So we are already finding that posturing, at least, will create some interest.

To substantiate maybe the additional cost of the Record, after the television was placed in the House—I am not sure exactly when; I believe it was in the first year, but I do not know what it is now—but in the "U.S. News & World Report" of September 17, on page 84, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, O'Neill was quoted as saying "O'Neill points out that the Congressional Record, the daily transcript of House proceedings, is 25 percent fatter than it was last year at this time, though the House has passed fewer bills. To him, it means only one thing: television is encouraging more talk and less work." And I think maybe that is what you have been alluding to, and I hope that we can fasten our seatbelts and look at this one pretty hard.

Senator **Danforth**. Senator Ford, I would just like to say that there is nothing wrong with a Senator getting on the evening news or trying to get on the evening news. We have plenty of opportunities to get on the evening news. There is a television gallery on the third floor of the Capitol. There is the television studio in the basement. There are ample opportunities for all of us to get on the evening news and to make whatever point we want to make. The question is whether or not, in addition to our opportunities to get on the evening news and educate the public, there should be someplace, some forum, where the Senate can deliberate on significant issues of the day, and that is what the Senate floor should be for, in my opinion. So that if the Senate floor were also transformed to yet another way in which people can get themselves on the evening news, I think that we would deprive the country of something which has been thought to be significant.

Senator **Ford**. I have no further questions. Thank you.

The **Chairman**. Senator Warner, do you have any questions?

Senator **Warner**. Senator Danforth, you have said that you have some concern about the use of these tapes for campaign purposes. Would that lead to a rule whereby we can use the Congressional Record—in other words, you can use the written word for campaign purposes, but you cannot use a picture of those words being spoken for campaign purposes?

Senator **Danforth**. Senator Warner, the use of what goes on in the Senate for campaign purposes is of very, very minor concern to me. I can understand the concern that it would be thought tasteless if people were making, in effect, TV commercials on the floor of the Senate, but that is not the thrust of my argument. The thrust of my argument is not the political use of commercials, but rather, the necessary effect that televising the Senate would have on how Senators spend their time and on the nature of floor debate.

Senator **Warner**. Nevertheless, you did address this point and expressed some concern about——

Senator **Ford**. He was responding to my question.

Senator **Warner**. I understand that.

Senator **Danforth**. I responded to a request by Senator Ford, but it is not anything that I have addressed before or particularly thought out before. But what I have attempted to think out is how you and I spend our time as Senators. And I think what has happened in the Senate is that we have really been on a treadmill, and we are frantically moving from meeting to meeting. The time to address matters of major significance seems to be decreasing. And we are running around the Senate, usually with our arms filled with folders and various things. We try to have a half an hour meeting with somebody, the phone rings, we get there late, we leave early. And I think that it is a frenzied kind of activity that we are involved in, and it is my view that if the floor of the Senate were transformed to a place where everybody was seeking recognition on every issue, where there was a premium on offering amendments and getting votes in order to appear on the television, and where the nature of debates was to say things colorful in order to meet the evening news, it would exacerbate a trend which I think we all recognize is already there.

Senator WARNER. Well, sooner or later, wouldn't the general public and indeed, our constituents, begin to impose on us sort of an unwritten rule or code of ethics, to determine what in fact we are doing that is important and unimportant, and either leave us here or remove us from office?

Senator DANFORTH. I do not know—you know, a friend of mine wrote a piece in the New York Times magazine a number of years ago about Congress, which he entitled "The Bloated Branch," and his point in that article was that Congress is getting a larger and larger staff; the issues of the day are becoming bigger and bigger, and in order for each of us to carve out some place for ourselves, some spot in the Sun, there was a tendency for us to specialize in maybe not significant issues, but issues which at least could command some time on television. And it might be that the politician would be rewarded by voter approval who would get himself on the news by being a little bit offbeat or a little bit colorful, or maybe a little less thoughtful than heretofore was believed to be significant for a Senator.

Senator WARNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Pell?

Senator PELL. No questions, Mr. Chairman, except to comment. I found the remarks of the Senator from Missouri very prescient and very good.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Danforth.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is the distinguished Senator from Louisiana, Senator Long.

STATEMENT OF HON. RUSSELL B. LONG, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

Senator LONG. Mr. Chairman and able members of the Committee, thank you for holding this hearing to allow me and other interested Senators and members of the public to discuss television and radio coverage of the U. S. Senate and the proposed regulations for implementation.

My opposition to television coverage of the Senate is no secret. I continue to believe that on balance, televising Senate proceedings is not only unnecessary, but will be harmful to the Senate's ability to discharge its constitutional duties.

While I opposed Senate Resolution 20, which provided for gavel-to-gavel coverage of Senate proceedings, I did vote for the compromise version in order to allow this committee to present to the Senate a detailed proposal of how the Senate would implement TV coverage and radio coverage, if that should be the case.

In fairness to the proponents of TV coverage, I felt that I could not truly evaluate the proposal for TV coverage until we had a specific proposal outlining regulations and rule changes that would be necessary to implement television and radio coverage.

During Senate debate on this issue in the last Congress, I made the point several times that I believe televising the Senate would change the character of Senate debate, and it would change the Senate itself. Since proceedings in the Senate chamber are already fully covered by the press, and by the media, through their representatives in the gallery, this is not an argument about the opening up of the Senate Chamber so that the public may know what transpires there.

We should examine the incremental benefits of televising Senate proceedings above the benefits of public access to our activities under the status quo. These incremental benefits must be weighed against the consequences of television coverage. Under this analysis, I see no justification for initiating gavel-to-gavel coverage of Senate proceedings.

What will we gain? To listen to the proponents of television coverage, one would think that every home in America will be able to tune their sets and watch all that transpires on the floor. The true result is that, in the words of TV supporters, "The Senate Galleries will be extended" but only to individuals under the following five conditions—first, that the individual has a TV set; second, that he lives in an area where cable television is available; third, that the cable network in that area carries C-SPAN; fourth, that the individual can afford to pay the monthly fee; and fifth, that C-SPAN has the capacity and chooses to broadcast the proceedings of the Senate on that particular day.

Mr. Chairman and members, I acknowledge that cable television is growing and becoming increasingly available throughout the country. It is a fact, however, that under this proposal, only a small minority of people would be able to view Senate proceedings as do visitors to our galleries. In fact, under the proposals that we have seen up to now, none of them would be able to view it as members of our galleries because the proposal, as I understand it, is to confine the camera entirely to the speaker, without letting anyone else see what is available to be seen throughout that Chamber.

I could not help but think of my experience at 10 minutes to 6 yesterday evening. I walked into the Senate Chamber. Two managers of the resolution on the confirmation of Mr. Adelman were there on both sides of the aisle; a presiding officer, one other Senator—and that is all. Nothing appeared to be going on. I suppose they were calling the roll for a quorum, very slowly.

I looked around the gallery, and there was practically no one up there. I would say two-thirds of the membership in the gallery were the guards, who are up there to protect us from the public.

So you look at the Senate under those circumstances, and you see what a dismal impression that would make on television. Well, now, the recommendation that we are asked to vote for here would not show the public that. During that lull in the Senate proceedings, they would put a big block up there on camera saying, "The Senate is engaged in a quorum call," or some such thing, or they would switch off to an ad and bring you back later on. If that were really live coverage of the Senate, you would be seeing somebody sitting around, passing time, reading some memos, or you would see people conversing in the gallery—the kind of thing they show you on television when they are covering a national convention.

What most people will see of the televised Senate is the 30- or 60-second clip that the network news programs might choose to use to illustrate their nightly news shows. I fail to see how this will be more helpful to our constituents than the current practice they are using already.

Senators can and do appear before cameras in the television gallery to repeat for broadcast statements made on the Senate floor, and reporters have total access to the Senate Chamber, and they have the opportunity to interview and question those Senators when they leave the floor. Practically all Senators are available upon request.

I am sure historians can make the argument that television tapes of Senate debate have some historical value. I am sure that I could have learned a great deal if I had been able to watch Senators like Daniel Webster address their colleagues on the Senate floor. However, I am not convinced that I would have learned significantly less because I was only able to read the record that those Senators made.

Those are some of the arguments that I have heard to advance the cause of televising the Senate. The majority leader insists that television coverage will increase the Senate's ability to perform its duties. He would list this as an argument for TV coverage.

This, I believe, is the crux of the issue, and I regret that I must strenuously disagree with the majority leader on this point. I believe that televising the Senate Chamber will make it much more difficult for the Senate to conduct its business and to serve its important role in our Government. To my mind, this is the most serious argument against television coverage.

There is countless evidence that the Senate has not been able to complete its important business. With a little more than 5 months remaining in this fiscal year, the Senate has yet to complete work on more than half of the required 13 appropriations bills. Now, the audience here probably does not know what that means, but the Senate and the House should have focused on 13 appropriations bills item by item, literally thousands of items, to say how much money will be appropriated for each particular function in each category. Half of those bills were disposed of by a simple continuing resolution, saying, "You get the same amount of money this year that you had last year," or some formula to say how much you would get. You get either the lesser amount that was in these two bills or the higher of the amount in these two bills—some general language to say that by a broadbrush approach, you would get a certain amount for various things, and cavalierly dispose of all of these important issues, rather than focusing on each one and appropriating the amount that the Congress thought appropriate for each one, as is our duty.

And why haven't we acted on the other half of those appropriation bills? It is very simple. We cannot get our job done the way it is now, because we are wasting too much time on frivolous things that we should not be frittering away our time on. Now, this will cause just a great deal more of the same type of waste of time.

We can all agree that many speeches made in the Senate need not have been made. I think we could also agree that most speeches are too long. I would go further and would like to suggest that many of the speeches——

The CHAIRMAN. Most of other people's speeches are too long.

Senator LONG [continuing]. Including my own—I want to go further, Mr. Chairman and members, and suggest that many speeches in the Senate fail to improve on the virtue of silence.

In their report to the Senate on recommended changes in Senate procedures and practices, former Senators Pearson and Ribicoff cited the need to reduce the number and length of speeches. They suggested that shorter and more appropriate speeches would result if Senators would speak extemporaneously, rather than reading a prepared text. The majority leader maintains that television coverage will encourage Members to speak more directly and succinctly to the issues at hand.

My view is that continuous television coverage will result in longer and more unnecessary speeches which will crowd an already overloaded Senate schedule. I do not see how Members will not be encouraged to speak on the floor, knowing that the folks back home will be watching for reassurances that they are taking care of their constituents' business here in Washington.

I will admit, Senator Danforth has admitted, and others who want to be completely candid about the matter will have to admit, that our behavior would be changed by television coverage.

Mr. Chairman, let me give you and this committee just one simple example. During the Senate consideration of the gasoline tax bill last year, I was able to persuade the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works to include $5 million to study a vexing problem at Interstate 10 and College Drive in Louisiana. Now, this matter is not of great significance to the Nation, but it is of great significance to the people living in the Baton Rouge area, the State Capital of Louisiana.

The committee was persuaded that this problem was created by the Federal interstate system and needed to be solved, so they were willing to agree to an amendment in the committee, without the fanfare and the time that would have been consumed to debate and consider and vote on this matter on the Senate floor. Had the television cameras been rolling in the Senate, I would have been encouraged to take this matter to the Senate floor, so that the Long amendment could have been passed, and the voters could have seen me in action, fighting faithfully for my constituents in Baton Rouge, La. I suspect that my colleagues from Louisiana would have felt the pressure to do the same thing, providing the Senate with an additional speech on this subject. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, I should have thought it would have been worth our while to have gone into great detail, explaining all the lives that have been lost at this dangerous crossing, all the property damage, and how important it was to the needs of the people of that area. As it was, the Senate moved more expeditiously, and the Senate was spared two unnecessary speeches.

I know we can all recall when we confirmed Mrs. Sandra Day O'Connor as the first lady to serve on the Supreme Court. This is another, very good example of what I had in mind. About 50 Senators made speeches saying that it was a great thing that the President had nominated this fine, talented lady to serve on the Supreme Court. Now, everybody knew she was going to be confirmed. To make speeches, particularly 50 of them, when it is already clear what the outcome is, is a waste of time and public money. But everyone knows that if that had been on television, there would not have been 50 speeches made—there would have been 100 speeches. Everybody would have had to take a stand and explain why he thought this was a great thing for the President to nominate this talented lady to serve on the Supreme Court. And we are not getting our job done the way it is now.

The end result would be the same, Mr. Chairman. The people of Baton Rouge, in this case, got the solution to their problem. Sandra Day O'Connor was confirmed. However, the proceedings would have been different. Additional time would have been taken away from Senate business, which merits a more full hearing on the floor.

Now, I would hope that the majority leader has changed his views since he was interviewed by a nationwide magazine and indicated that he thought we ought to make more of these decisions out there on the Senate floor and less of them in the committees. We have 13 committees to work on legislation, so it is 13 times as efficient to have well-balanced committees to make decisions and fight on the Senate floor only about the ones that would lead someone to believe he might be able to make change in that body.

Many would suggest that I and my colleagues would simply not make more speeches, and I can only respond that I am merely being honest about the matter. I am human, and so are they. I am a public official, and I expect to be a candidate in 1986. It is important for me to communicate with my constituents, and I will do that, as will others, by the means that are provided me.

I maintain that other means are adequate for these purposes. Televising such debates will only encourage the use of the Senate floor for purposes that it was never intended to serve.

Mr. Chairman, this is my primary concern, that television will force a change in the character of the Senate. The purpose of debate on the Senate floor in our representative form of government is to persuade 50 or more Senators to vote to support a particular position on an issue. There are times when it is clear that most Senators have made up their minds about how they will vote on those proposals. In those instances, speakers channel the debate to points that are important to those undecided Senators. What will persuade them; what factors will they consider in making up their minds? Undecided Senators are the audience that should be addressed, not the television audience.

We on the floor of the U. S. Senate are there to make decisions, to make laws that will govern our Nation. We have other means to communicate with the public and with our constituents.

We receive input from our constituents and the public in hearing rooms, in meetings, in public forums, through the press, and in telephone communications. We respond to an exchange of ideas with the public in the same way. In addition, they receive a full account of the decisionmaking process on the Senate floor through our official record and through the media.

Television will encourage the use of the floor in ways that are unnecessary to and are not helpful in this decisionmaking process. It will encourage us to appeal to the electorate, to our constituents, and to those we hope will vote for us in some future election.

It will be a constant challenge to every Senator to make a cheap campaign for his own reelection, many times at the expense of the national interest. We can do that elsewhere. There is no need for us to do that on the Senate floor, and it will be harmful to the institution of the Senate if we do.

The framers of the Constitution decided to create a representative democracy rather than a direct democracy. We do not govern in this country by initiative or by referendum. Although we are sent to Washington to represent the best interests of our States, we consistently—and rightly so, I believe—resist the idea that we were sent here to be mere puppets of popular sentiments.

If that were truly our role, there would be in fact no need for the Senate at all. Our staffs, who are knee-deep in cards and letters supporting the repeal of the 10-percent withholding on dividends and interest income at this moment, could simply tally the number of pros and cons and report that number to the clerk. Undoubtedly, if that were the case, the 10-percent withholding would be repealed. The outcome of this proposal, however, is in the hands of the full Senate, and therefore, it is not so clear at all what the final result will be.

The Constitution also provided for two Houses of Congress, with those two Houses having different qualifications for membership and different responsibilities. It is not surprising that the Constitution recommended that revenue and spending measures be initiated in the House of Representatives.

Who should control the purse strings for as crucial an issue as it is now in the creation of our Nation? There were valid reasons to place this responsibility with the legislators who faced the public every 2 years at the ballot box.

As Senators, the Constitution provides that we should take a second look at legislation before passing it. Our 6-year terms allow us to take a longer range view of controversial issues. Our proceedings of unlimited debate, agendas set by the full body, rather than a Rules Committee, are all examples of the unique qualities of the Senate that are present for a reason. They better allow us to fulfill our role of providing for the national interest as well as the concerns of our respective States.

We also have the sole responsibility for confirming executive and judicial appointments and for ratifying treaties. In these areas, there are many examples of issues where the immediate popular expression and the best long-term policy are not always the same.

It was in the best interest of this country that the Senate was able to give a more dispassionate consideration to the airing of these controversies.

Mr. Chairman, we are all sensitive to certain advantages that incumbents have over challengers in an election. Because of this, we limit the access to the television and radio recording studios and restrict the mailing of our newsletters by Senators immediately prior to their campaigns for reelection. It seems to me that television coverage would provide additional free benefits to incumbent Senators and to those seeking public office. TV would give office-seekers access to free television time, and in doing so, would provide them an opportunity to make many self-serving statements to their own political advantage and at the expense of their opposition. It would provide office-seekers with repeated opportunities to do this type of thing. I see no reason why the American taxpayer should pay his money to subsidize this type of free campaigning for reelection.

Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, I have read with interest the provisions of Senate Resolution 66. I indicated on the floor during the last Congress that my vote in favor of the compromise did not mean that I would support television coverage. I felt that it was impossible to evaluate the question fairly without seeing the specific details of how this would operate.

I am disappointed that the resolution provides for gavel-to-gavel coverage. As one who has severe reservations about the entire concept, gavel-to-gavel coverage is obviously objectionable to me.

It is interesting to note that the Pearson-Ribicoff report on Senate practices and procedures stated that—and I quote—"The Study Group feels that broadcasting the entire legislative proceedings of the Senate would not be helpful to either the Senate or the public."

The report goes on to specify that televising major issues one or two times each week for a period of 2 or 3 hours may be a good idea. I think we should remember that this recommendation is made in the context of the full report, which suggests many changes in the operations of the Senate. Senators may agree with some of these recommendations. However, some will be considered as a major departure from the current operation of the Senate and will require careful consideration.

For this reason, I believe it is crucial that any further consideration of the television issue be considered in conjunction with the Pearson-Ribicoff report on changes in Senate practices and procedures.

The recommendation of television coverage under the limited circumstances provided in the report states that, "This would give Senators an opportunity to present their views to the country on issues debated and for the Senate as a whole to provide further leadership for the country—without altering"—and I stress this—"without altering the fundamental and unique nature of the Senate."

This caveat clearly suggests that additional coverage would have an effect on the fundamental and unique nature of the Senate.

Mr. Chairman, I know that you introduced this resolution with a statement that the time for study of it has been completed, and the time for action is now. We have talked a lot about this concept, but we have not talked about this specific proposal. More importantly, we have not adequately addressed the possible effects of the adoption of this resolution. Unfortunately, this resolution does not address or answer some of the questions raised during hearings and floor debates in the last Congress.

For example, what guarantees are provided to the minority party or Senators holding a minority view on an issue? Will they have equal access during televised proceedings? An amendment to rule 19 to require the chair to alternate recognition of Senators between members of the two parties may be in order, and even that may not be the answer.

Mr. Chairman, I would think that—you and I know—I know of many, many examples in which the chair has not been entirely impartial. And I must confess that on some occasions, I had something to do with that result. So I am not here to point the finger of scorn. I am merely here to say that the chair has been known to be very partial. And if we are going to have TV coverage, there ought to be something in the rules to assure that all Senators will have their opportunity to speak at the crucial point, rather than to follow the existing procedure, which as you know, would require that the majority leader, under precedent, be recognized first, and the majority leader could talk as long as he wanted to talk, and farm the floor out to others, and then the minority leader would be recognized and have the same opportunity before other Senators who might have a different view than both of them would be entitled to claim recognition.

Now, that is not the rule; that is the tradition. And you and I know that in addition to that, the tradition has been that the chair would tend to recognize that person who stood at the majority leader's chair, usually the manager of the bill, and after that, to the person on the other side of the aisle representing the minority on the committee.

I believe we should consider a requirement that only germane debate and germane amendments be offered during televised debate. At the same time, I want to insure that the unique Senate characteristic of unlimited debate within the guidelines of rule 22 remain effective.

I continue to be concerned about the political use of Senate tapes for or against incumbents. I recognize that section 6 of the resolution is an attempt to deal with this concern, but I question whether that language can be enforced in any meaningful way.

Mr. Chairman, I will continue to be concerned about the cost of this measure. I recognize that the cost of television coverage has been reduced in its estimate from $5 million to a current $3.5 million. I am impressed with this committee's ability to reduce the cost estimates when my experience has consistently shown that later estimates tend to be higher than previous ones, and that the actual implementations are usually even higher than the best-estimates.

Mr. Chairman, you have made the point that this is a frugal time, and that true frugality lies in wise spending. Bravo. I agree with this. I am not convinced that spending $3.5 million to put ourselves on television is wise spending. Most of all, I know I could not convince those who are looking for work, who have had their food stamps reduced, or who are being asked to pay more for medical services that this is a wise way to spend their tax dollars.

Although I disagree with their conclusion, I realize that the supporters of television coverage believe that it will improve the Senate. Well, the Senate is not a perfect body. It leaves much to be desired, and we should make improvements wherever possible. We should try to insure that any changes we make will truly improve the Senate's ability to serve the Nation.

There are shortcomings in the Senate as there are with every institution in Government. Yet over the course of history, the Senate has fulfilled its purpose. Despite strong popular support, the Senate has defeated many bad bills which have come to be recognized as bad legislation. Likewise, the Senate has been known to rise to the challenge and ratify treaties that have been extremely unpopular and highly controversial and on occasion, we have passed bills with unpopular proposals or sections in them, because we knew that the national interest required it. We hoped that in the long run, the public would come to understand the need for that.

Sponsors of this resolution have yet to show us how the opportunity for every Senator to perform on television every day will preserve and protect this Nation from the follies of expediency. It does not require much imagination to see how constant or even frequent TV coverage could defeat the needs of statesmanship and destroy one of the most valued bulwarks for the preservation of this Government that any nation has ever known.

The Senate should stand for statesmanship. TV coverage will do little to promote that objective, and, in my judgment, it will do much to promote the opposite.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and your committee for the opportunity to present my views.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you, Senator Long, for a thoughtful statement and one which I think clearly testifies to your concern for the Senate as an important institution in this Republic.

But I must say to you that your statement seems to me to be a little bit paradoxical. You describe the condition of the Senate last night—empty, with just the Presiding Officer and a speaker, I think you said—during a debate over an important matter which affects not only the welfare of Americans living today but Americans until the end of time, the welfare of all mankind—and there was an empty Senate. And the paradox that I see is that then, you do not want to see any change in the character of the Senate.

Now, my question to you is, How long can we be a house divided? How long can we have, in effect, two Senates—one in which we permit the television cameras in almost every other aspect of Senate procedure but not on the Senate floor. We let the public see part of our show but not, perhaps, the most important part of the show.

Senator LONG. Well, can I respond to that, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please respond to it?

Senator LONG. Thank you. I welcome the opportunity.

Let us assume that the Senate had been on television last night. You would not have seen the empty Chamber. You would have seen somebody get up and suggest the absence of a quorum. And then you would have seen the man go off the camera, and the big block would have appeared, with big letters that say, "The Senate is now conducting a quorum call to determine whether a quorum is present." And at the conclusion of that statement, the camera would have gone on the Presiding Officer, just that one man sitting there, and he would bang the gavel and say that a quorum is present. And all that would be a falsehood. There never would have been a quorum in there at any point. Somebody would have come in, and somebody would have gone out in the course of it, and by the time they got through, there might have been five or six people left on the floor, and he would now say, "A quorum is present." What you would have seen on television would have been a total misrepresentation, and if I do say it, Mr. Chairman, the way that resolution would be administered, the way it stands at this moment, the public never would have seen the fact that there were not 50 Senators out there on the floor.

Now, how is that going to improve our situation?

Senator DECONCINI. Would the chairman yield for just a followup question on that particular point?

The CHAIRMAN. Surely.

Senator DECONCINI. Senator Long, aren't you assuming that there would be an ad or something else on which would cover up, let us say, an extended quorum call? Isn't the point whether we want the public to have the ability to witness what occurs on the Senate floor? Now, what C-SPAN, or whoever covers it, chooses to show isn't the important point, to me. For example, this committee meeting happens to be covered by TV—most Senate committee meetings are not covered, but they can be. It seems to me the point is that the possibility of coverage should be available.

Do you disagree that that is important, that the public have that opportunity? Maybe they would show, and it would look pretty foolish, that the Senate Chamber is frequently empty and that we go through long, drawn-out quorum calls that are only used for stall purposes. Isn't that really the point, that we will not know what they decide to show or to not show, because it is not up to us to decide. It would be up to the people who would cover it to do what they want. Isn't that correct?

Senator LONG. Well, I do not know whether you are assuming that you are going to have the kind of coverage that they have in the House of Representatives, or whether you are assuming that you are going to have the kind of coverage that they have at a national convention. Which are you assuming, Senator?

Senator DECONCINI. Well, I do not know, because it has not been accomplished here.

Senator LONG. Well, you see, it is very important that we know that.

Senator DECONCINI. My only point is that in a representative democracy, aren't we better off to let the U.S. Senate be heard publicly, whether it makes us look foolish or not. Some of these hearings that are covered by television look pretty foolish, and some are very profound. But that is what a free society and an open society is all about. And if the networks do not want to show it, they do not have to show it.

Senator LONG. Well, my whole statement is directed exactly to that, Senator. I could give you a lot of reasons in addition to what I have said here, why, in my judgment, the people are not going to get their money's worth for television. They are going to get worse representation, not better representation.

Television in the Senate will tend to put more of a reward on expediency. Already you have too much of this philosophy in government, that perception is reality. You know and I do, that many times, people cast a bad vote in that Senate, and I assume they do it in the House, on the theory that they are afraid they are going to be misunderstood. There are a lot of votes that are cast that way. I hate to say this. I know it, and I believe you do—I think you have been in public life long enough to know, Senator DeConcini—you and I know that political courage is the scarcest commodity in this body.

We have men here who have demonstrated that they have the physical courage to march right into the mouth of a cannon, as long as they are doing it with the approval of the people in this country, and yet do not have the courage to take an unpopular position or one that might cost them their reelection, fearing death at the polls far more than they do actual physical death. That is just part of the kind of political animals that serve in the Congress. And when we have to measure up to the difficult chores, such as we did when we ratified the Panama Canal Treaty, it is not going to help to put that on television. In the last analysis, the most statesmanlike things that people do have to be those things that are not going to make it easier to get elected, but are going to make it tougher to be elected. They do it because they believe that the fate of the Nation hangs in the balance.

I can recall a Senator who made a speech, after considerable importuning by the President and his colleagues and his predecessor in the Senate. He was only there for a few months, and he was running for reelection. When he got through with that speech, people came up to congratulate him. The first man who came up to congratulate him was told, "I am dead." From his point of view, he would never be reelected after he made that speech and explained his thoughts, but he thought he was doing what the national interest required.

Now, Senators do that, and they are going to do it whether you have television coverage or not. But you will have more political courage and, I think, more statesmanship, without TV coverage than you will have with TV coverage.

Now, I have been on committees and seen Senators who have all the earmarks of statesmanship, with those cameras in that room, proceed to get up and make vitriolic statements of a very controversial nature that are not appropriate for the hearing at all—the sort of things I have never seen those Senators do in a dozen years. Why? Because the TV cameras are there, and they hope to have that picked out and put on the evening news, that this Senator really told somebody off, or had his say on that particular occasion.

I am willing to go along with what we have at this point, but to put the Senate in the position where we proceed more and more on the theory that perception is reality, which can be very dangerous to the fate of this Nation, and something that the Senate should not do. Now, let the House do that. You have no right to expect much statesmanship out of the House—if you get any, you are lucky. [Laughter.]

They are elected on 2-year terms, and those fellows are running for reelection all the time. If they cast an expedient vote that will not stand the test of time, forgive them. They have very little choice about that matter. That is why the Senate is here with those 6-year terms to save the country if need be.

I can recall the time when we passed a bill for a pay raise in the post office. Everybody was to get paid on a seniority basis and the time he had served in uniform during the war counted as though he had been serving in the post office. A great, big pay raise for veterans would have resulted. They wrapped it in a flag, and President Truman had the guts to veto the bill. That was near election time and that bill sailed through over his veto in the House by a vote of 400 to 2, and we sustained that veto in the U.S. Senate.

Now, I must admit that that was a tough thing to do, but we managed to sustain that veto.

Senator DECONCINI. Mr. Chairman, I am well aware of the experience that the Senator from Louisiana has, and I have the greatest respect for it. I have to disagree that there is no statesmanship in the House. I think that is very unfair to our colleagues there. I think there are some outstanding Members there, and I think that the Senator, on reflection, can probably call to mind a few of his fine colleagues over there who demonstrate great statesmanship on or off television.

Senator LONG. Well, lest there be any misunderstanding, let me say this. We get a lot more statesmanship over there than we have any right to expect. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I have one more question. Senator Danforth expressed his concern that the Senate had lost its character, to some degree. I think he wants to see the Senate as the senior national forum, the place where the national debates are really held.

Yet, you have been describing the kind of scene that you saw last night, anything but a senior national forum, anything but a great debate. And I know that the majority leader, Senator Baker, wants to see the Senate as the most important forum in the Nation. And yet, how are we going to bring that change about in the latter years of the 20th century if we prevent the technology that is available to us from extending that debate all across this country, all around the world? Don't you see some difficulty in that reasoning?

Senator LONG. Mr. Chairman, we have to think of two things—one, perception, and the other, reality. Now, what is more important? That we make those decisions that will save this great Nation and preserve freedom around this world, or that we are perceived as doing something that we are not in fact achieving?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we are getting to the heart of it now, because do you believe in debate, or do you think the right way to proceed is to have us go over there, one by one, to the Senate floor and make a speech in an empty Senate?

Wouldn't it be more desirable to have a true debate?

Senator LONG. Well, Mr. Chairman, I am all for that; I am all for the true debate.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, what is more likely to bring that about—television in the Senate or no television in the Senate?

Senator LONG. Well, I would like you to specify which kind of television you mean. Do you mean the television like it is in the House, where you focus on just one man over there, and for all we know, he is the only person there—although we are led to believe that perhaps there is a quorum present—or do you mean the kind of thing that they show at the conventions of the national parties, where they pan the camera around, and show you how many people actually are out there to see that debate? Which kind do you have in mind?

The CHAIRMAN. The kind of coverage that the Senate gets will be the kind of coverage that the Senate deserves. If the Senators are on the floor and engaged in debate, and there is a lively exchange, that is what the television cameras will show.

Senator LONG. Mr. Chairman, it is not my place to ask the questions, and I hope you will pardon me asking questions. It seems to me that until you are prepared to specify whether you are talking about the kind of coverage that the networks would give it if they were there with their own cameras and their own crews, without Senate direction, or whether you are talking about the type of coverage that the House of Representatives has, where they are told that they are not to focus on anything except that speaker and that presiding officer—because the answer cannot be the same. It would have to be different, depending upon which kind you have in mind. In other words, are you really talking about showing what is actually going on down there, or are you talking about showing what you would like to have the public think goes on down there?

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator knows that is the will of the Senate.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Senator Long follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR RUSSELL B. LONG, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

Mr. Chairman: Thank you for holding this hearing to allow me and other interested Senators and members of the public to discuss television and radio coverage of the United States Senate and the proposed regulations for implementation.

My opposition to television coverage of the Senate is no secret. I continue to believe that, on balance, televising Senate proceedings is not only unnecessary but will be harmful to the Senate's ability to discharge its constitutional duties.

While I opposed S. Res. 20 which provided for gavel-to-gavel coverage of Senate proceedings, I did vote for the compromise version in order to allow this committee to present to the full Senate a more detailed proposal of how the Senate would implement T.V. and/or radio coverage. In fairness to the proponents of T.V. coverage, I felt I could not truly evaluate the idea of T.V. coverage until we had a specific proposal outlining regulations and rule changes that would be necessary to implement television and radio coverage.

During Senate floor debate on this issue in the last Congress, I made the point several times that I believe televising the Senate will change the character of Senate debate and the Senate itself. Since proceedings in the Senate chamber are already fully covered by the press, this is not an argument about opening up the closed doors of a smoke-filled chamber.

We should examine the incremental benefits of televising Senate proceedings above the benefits of public access to our activities under the status quo. These incremental benefits must be weighed against the consequences of television coverage. Under this analysis, I see no justification for initiating gavel-to-gavel coverage of Senate proceeedings.

What will we gain? To listen to the proponents of television coverage one would think that every home in America would be able to tune their set to watch all or our floor activities. The true result is that, in the words of T.V. supporters, "the Senate galleries will be extended" only to individuals under the following five conditions:

First, the individual has a television set; second, he lives in an area where cable television is available; third, the cable network in that area carries c-span; fourth, the individual can afford to pay the monthly fee; and fifth, C-SPAN has the capacity and chooses to broadcast the proceedings of the Senate on that particular day.

Mr. Chairman, I acknowledge that cable television is growing and becoming increasingly available throughout this country. It is a fact, however, that under this proposal only a small minority of people would be able to view Senate proceedings as do visitors to our galleries.

What most people will see of the televised Senate is the 30 or 60 second clip that the network news programs chose to use to illustrate their nightly news shows. I fail to see how this will be more helpful to our constituents than the current practice.

Senators can and do appear before cameras in the television press gallery to repeat for broadcast statements made on the Senate floor and reporters have total access to the Senate chamber ot report of floor activities.

I am sure historians can make the argument that television tapes of Senate debate have some historical value. I am sure I could have learned a great deal if I had been able to watch Senators like Daniel Webster address their collegues on the Senate floor. However, I am not convinced that I learned significantly less because I was only able to read the record he made.

Those are some of the arguments I have heard to advance the cause of televising the Senate. Mr. Chairman, the Majority Leader insists that television coverage will increase the Senate's ability to perform its duties. He would list this as an argument for T.V. coverage.

I believe this is the crux of the issue and I regret that I must strenously disagree with the Majority Leader on this point. I believe televising the Senate chamber will make it more difficult for the Senate to conduct its business and to serve its important role in our government. To my mind, this is the most serious argument against television coverage.

There is countless evidence that the Senate has not been able to complete important business. With a little more than five months remaining in this fiscal year, the Senate has yet to complete more than half of the required thirteen appropriations bills.

We all agree that many speeches made in the Senate do not need to be made. I go further than many in suggesting that many speeches made on the Senate floor do not improve on the virtue of silence.

In their report to the Senate on recommended changes to Senate practices and procedures, Senators Pearson and Ribicoff cited the need to reduce the number and the length of speeches. They suggest that shorter, more appropriate speeches will result if Senators speak extemporaneously rather reading prepared texts. The Majority leader maintains that television coverage will encourage members to speak more directly and succinctly to the issues at hand.

My own view is that continuous television coverage will result in longer and more, unnecessary speeches which will crowd an already overloaded Senate schedule. I do not see how members will not be encouraged to speak on the floor knowing that the folks back home will be watching for reassurances that we are taking care of their business here in Washington. I will admit. Senator Danforth has admitted, and others will honestly admit that our behavior would be changed by television coverage.

Mr. Chairman, let me give you and this Committee one example. During the Senate's consideration of the gasoline tax bill last year, I was able to persuade the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee to include a five million dollar appropriation to study a vexing problem at the intersection of College Drive and Interstate 10.

This matter is not of great consequence to the Nation but it is of great consequence to individuals living in the Baton Rouge area. The Committee was persuaded that this problem was created by the federal interstate system and needed to be solved. So, they were willing to agree to the amendment in committee without fanfare or taking time on the Senate floor.

Had television cameras been rolling in the Senate chamber, I would have been encouraged to take this matter to the Senate floor so that the "Long Amendment" could have been passed and the voters could have seen me in action fighting for them. I suspect my colleague from Louisiana would have felt some pressure to do the same—providing the Senate with two additional unnecessary speeches.

The end result would be the same, Mr. Chairman. The people of Baton Rouge will get a solution to their problem.

However, the process would be different. Additional time would be taken away from Senate business which merits a full hearing on the Senate floor.

Many would suggest that I and my colleagues should simply not do such things. I can only respond that I am merely being honest. I am human; I am a public official; and I expect to be a candidate in 1986. It is important for me to communicate with my constituents. I will do that by the means that are provided to me.

I maintain that other means are adequate for these purposes. Televising such so-called debates will only encourage use of the Senate floor for purposes it was not meant to serve.

Mr. Chairman, that is my primary concern that television will force a change in the character of the Senate. The purpose of debate on the Senate floor in our representative form of government is to persuade fifty other Senators elected by voters in their states to support your position on an issue.

There are times when it is clear that most Senators have made up their minds about how they will vote on a proposal. In those instances, speakers channel the debate to the points that are important to those undecided Senators.

What will persuade them? What factors will they consider in making up their minds? Undecided Senators are the audience to address not the television audience.

We are on the floor of the United States Senate to make decisions—to make laws that will govern our Nation. We have other means to directly communicate with the public and our constituents.

We receive input from our constituents and the public in hearing rooms, in meetings, in public forums, through the press, and in telephone conversations. We respond to and exchange ideas with the public in the same way. In addition, they receive a full account of the decision making process on the Senate floor through the official record and through press accounts.

Television will encourage use to use the floor in ways that are unnecessary and are not helpful to the decision making process. It will encourage us to appeal to the electorate, to our constituents, and to those we hope will vote for us in some future election.

We can do that elsewhere. There is no need for us to do that on the Senate floor. And it will be harmful to the institution of the Senate if we do.

The farmers of the Constitution decided to create a representative democracy rather than a direct democracy. We do not govern our country by initiative or referendum. Although firmly convinced we are sent to Washington to represent the best interests of our states, we consistently, and rightly so, resist the idea that we were sent here to be mere puppets of popular sentiments.

If that were truly our role, there would in fact be no need for us to be here at all. Our staffs who are knee deep in cards and letters supporting the repeal of ten percent withholding on dividend and interest income could simply tally the number of pros and cons, report the number to the clerk, and undoubtedly this provision would be repealed. The outcome on this proposal in the hands of the full Senate is not so clear.

The Constitution also provided for a two house Congress with different qualifications for membership and different responsibilities. It is not surprising that the Constitution recommended that revenue and spending measures be initiated in the House of Representatives.

Who should control the pursestrings was a crucial issue in the creation of our Nation. There were valid reasons to place this reponsibility with the legislators who faced the public every two years at the ballot box.

As Senators the Constitution provides that we should take a "second look" at legislation before passing it. Our six year terms allow us to take a longer range view on controversial issues. Our procedures of unlimited debate, agendas set by the full body rather than a Rules Committee are all examples of the unique qualities of the Senate that are present for a reason. They better allow us to fulfill our role of providing for the national interest as well as the concerns of our respective States.

We also have the sole responsibility for confirming executive and judicial appointments and ratifying treaties. In these areas there are many examples of issues where the immediate popular expression and the best long-term policy were not the same. It was in the best interests of this country that the Senate was able to give a more dispassionate airing of these controversies.

Mr. Chairman, we are all sensitive to certain advantages that incumbents have over challengers during an election. Because of this, we limit access to the television and radio recording studio and restrict mailings of newsletters by Senators facing reelection.

It seems to me that television coverage would provide additional free benefits to incumbent Senators and those seeking higher offices. T.V. coverage would give office seekers access to free television time.

It would provide office seekers with repeated opportunities to make self serving statements which would not further the Senate's business and would only serve the candidate's efforts to win an election. I see no reason why the American taxpayer should subsidize this free coverage.

Mr. Chairman, I have read with interest the provisions of S. Res. 66. I indicated on the floor during the last Congress that my vote in favor of the compromise did not mean that I would support television coverage. I felt it was impossible to evaluate the question fairly without seeing the specific details outlining how television would work in the Senate.

I am disappointed to see that the resolution provides for gavel-to-gavel coverage. As one who has severe reservations about this entire concept, gavel-to-gavel coverage is obviously most objectionable to me.

It is interesting to note that the Pearson-Ribicoff report on Senate Practices and Procedures stated that, and I quote "The Study Group feels that broadcasting the entire legislative proceedings of the Senate would not be helpful to either the Senate or the public."

The report goes on to specify that televising major issues one or two times each week for a period of two or three hours each time may be a good idea. I think we should remember that this recommendation is made in the context of the full report which suggests many changes in the operation of the Senate. Senators may agree with some of these recommendations. However, some will be considered a major departure from the current operation of the Senate and will require careful consideration.

For this reason, I believe it is crucial that any further consideration of the television issue be considered in conjunction with the Pearson-Ribicoff report on changes in Senate practices and procedures.

The recommendation of television coverage under the limited circumstances provided in the report states that "This would give Senators an opportunity to present their views to the country on issues debated and for the Senate as a whole to provide further leadership for the country—without altering the fundamental and unique nature of the United States Senate." This caveat clearly suggests that additional coverage would have an effect on the fundamental and unique nature of the Senate.

Mr. Chairman, I know you introduced this resolution with a statement that the time for study of it has been completed and the time for action is now. We have talked a lot about this concept but we have not talked about this specific proposal. More importantly, we have not adequately addressed the possible effects of the adoption of this resolution. Unfortunately, this resolution does not address or answer some of the questions raised during hearings and floor debates in the last Congress.

What guarantees are provided to the minority party of the Senators holding a minority view on a particular issue that they will have equal access to the floor during televised proceedings? An amendment to Rule 19 to require the Chair to alternate recognition of Senators between members of the two parties may be in order.

I believe we should consider a requirement that only germane debate and germane amendments be offered during televised debates. At the same time, I want to insure that the unique Senate characteristic of unlimited debate within the guidelines of Rule 22 remains effective.

I continue to be concerned about the political use of tapes of Senate proceedings both for and against incumbents. I recognize that Section 6 of the resolution is an attempt to deal with this concern. I question whether this language can be enforced in any meaningful way.

Mr. Chairman, I continue to be concerned about the cost of this measure. I recognize that the cost of television coverage has been reduced from the original estimate of $5 million to the current $3.5 million. I am impressed with this Committee's ability to reduce the cost estimates when my experience has consistently shown that later estimates are always higher than previous ones and that actual implementation is higher than the best estimates.

You have made the point, Mr. Chairman, that this is a frugal time and that "true frugality lies in wise spending." I agree with your premise, Mr. Chairman. I am not convinced that spending $3.5 million to put ourselves on television is "wise spending." Most of all, I know I could not convince those who are looking for work, who have had their food stamps reduced, or who are being asked to pay more for medicare services that this would be a wise use of their tax dollars.

Mr. Chairman, although I disagree with their conclusion, I realize that the supporters of television coverage believe that it will improve the Senate. The Senate is not a perfect body. It leaves much to be desired and we should make improvements wherever possible. We should insure that any changes we make will truly improve the Senate's ability to serve this Nation.

There are shortcomings in the Senate as there are with every institution of our American government. Over the course of history, the Senate has fulfilled its purpose. Despite strong popular support, the Senate has defeated many bad bills which are now recognized as bills which would have made bad law. Likewise, the Senate has risen to many challenges to ratify treaties and pass legislation that was extremely unpopular and highly controversial because the national interest required it.

Sponsors of this resolution have yet to show us how the opportunity for every Senator to perform on television every day will preserve and protect this Nation from the follies of expediency. It does not require much imagination to see how constant or even frequent T.V. coverage of the Senate could defeat the needs of statesmanship and destroy one of the most valued bulwarks for the preservation of our government.

The Senate should stand for statesmanship. T.V. coverage will do little to promote that objective and will do much to promote the opposite.

Mr. Chairman, once again I appreciate the opportunity to appear before this Committee this morning. I would be pleased to answer any question you may have.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize the Senator from Mississippi for a brief statement, with the right, without objection, to supplement it with a written statement if he so desires.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOHN C. STENNIS, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

Senator STENNIS. I thank the chairman and the members of the committee.

I have listened with the greatest interest to the discussion this morning. I have said on the floor that if we are really going to televise the Senate, that it ought to be all or nothing, because otherwise the people will get the wrong impression.

Now, over there, when we open, we open with prayer. To be honest about it, we ought to put in the picture there of all those vacant chairs. And going right on down the line, I spoke there yesterday afternoon, and the attendance was less than overwhelming. I had some things on my mind, though, a pending matter, and I was glad to get to speak.

In terms of the Senate, Mr. Chairman, I think fundamentally we come here to try to exercise a judgment, and part of that is conferring with each other and listening to each other, and then standing up and being counted on what we think is best for the country.

Now, a few years ago, when the Senate convened, there would often be 30, 40, 50, 60, or 70 or more Senators present. And we would go right on into a worthwhile debate most of the time.

I will just illustrate one. The late Senator from Colorado, Senator Milliken, and the late Senator from Georgia, Senator George, when those two men happened to disagree and debated a matter, it was whispered in advance far and near, and there was splendid attendance. Now, if we have something like that to show the people, all right. But I say if we are going to televise these sessions, we had better first reform ourselves and clean up the situation there in the Senate. Even though we have two of the best leaders that I have ever seen come in there in the management and handling of the challenges and so forth, I have normal hearing, and I sit in the middle of the chamber forward about halfway, and much of the time, I cannot hear the speaker or understand, and I sometimes cannot hear the clerk calling the roll. That is because of the general disorder. And for many Members, that is all they know about the Senate. They have never served in any other kind of a Senate. They are not conscious of the fact that it is supposed to be a place of fair quiet and consideration and deliberation. So I am not blaming anyone. I realize we have just slipped on it.

Now, if we are going to televise this thing, we ought to show the well of the Senate down there when a vote is being taken. The Members come in now—and I am not blaming them—they have not had a fair chance to know what the real issue is, and they have to meet down there and find out from each other and advise with each other. That is literally true; I voted against this procedure; I voted to preserve the rollcall vote in the usual way to keep that opportunity for the average man who comes in.

So I think if we are really going to put on the speaker, then we have got to put on the surroundings. Otherwise, the flavor of the situation never shows up. It looks like a manufactured thing.

I know about this judgment being hard to follow and not a popular position if you really use your judgment, and the eagerness to get all the facts first, and then have the nerve to stand up and give that judgment in advice or counsel, or in your vote. And I do not believe that the present concept of television as outlined in this resolution will improve that situation one bit. In fact, it will detract from it and add an impediment, a very practical impediment, to the situation—a screen, a forced screen, between the Senator and the public, the way the resolution proposes to show it.

So I am very, very concerned that we not take this step until we have at least changed and show a Senate that will make a better impression and will be better understood.

Now, I know another way to help improve the quality of the debate, that a Senator cannot use a speech that someone else has written. That may be very hard, and the volume of the work is so great, it would be hard to comply with that. But that will clear things up a lot, and we can understand each other better, and the public can understand us better, and it will be more of the real thing.

With all deference to television, I have no complaint with them. They have been nice enough to me. I have no instance of any alleged mistreatment. But say what you will, television is partly show business. That is the nature of the thing. That is their primary business. They put these films on, and when you get into that atmosphere, the average speaker gets imbued with that same spirit of entertainment, of preparing for the next election. I have been up for reelection, and I know myself well enough to know I would have been greatly tempted to make political points there, to go on the microphone there at my desk, primarily for political reasons. I think I am at least an average fellow in that field, but I admit that I have been tempted and would have wanted to have taken advantage of it, and would have done it.

Now, that goes back to the question of judgment. We all seek out to some degree the judgment of our fellow Senators. I can feel a change when one leaves or a few leave that I have relied on to help me reach conclusions. I feel it. I know that is a part of the system.

So my point is that when we move this into the arena of television, then we are moving that much further away from the idea of getting a firm judgment as to what is best for the country.

So I believe that we ought to mainly clean up this situation first, rather than just jump in and hope that television is going to improve things a lot. It takes some time to do that, an educational process to go through, and then I believe we will realize that, after all, we do not need the television in the Senate to carry on the business of the Nation.

I have a statement. It is not long, but I would like to have consent to file this further. I appreciate the problem the committee has. If we are going to have television, it is going to be very, very difficult to close the loopholes and make this matter reach the reality of things, and it will compound problems we have now. Mention has been made that we have not even passed the appropriation bill yet for the current fiscal year, and with all that we have now, we have not been able to give a microscopic examination to these items. I am not complaining particularly, but the authorization committees are being relegated to the rear, and that is where the strength of the Senate is, in the constructive work of these major committees.

That is my observation. It is very clear. And I think if we add television on the Senate floor, it is going to make us attend more the floor sessions, but we will have to neglect also the committee work if we ever get that straightened out. So I think we are weakening the foundation and the cornerstone of this great institution. Television can and ought to be left off until some of these other problems are solved.

I thank you very much for your time and for the work that you are doing on this.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Stennis. The committee record will remain open for such other statement as you wish to furnish.

Senator STENNIS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is the distinguished and learned Senator from the State of New York.

Professor, you have the floor.

TESTIMONY OF HON. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Senator MOYNIHAN. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement in support of Senate Resolution 66, which I have asked be put in the record.

The Chairman. Without objection, so ordered.

Senator MOYNIHAN. I can summarize my thoughts best by repeating a remark made by Samuel Gompers, the founder of the American labor movement. At the Paris Peace Conference following the First World War, to which he had been brought by President Wilson to head the commission that eventually proposed the creation of the International Labor Organization, he was speaking to the subject of the labor movement and possibilities of cooperation across borders and the need for representative institutions. At one point, he sensed the anxiety, the disbelief in his audience, and he stopped in the middle of a long discourse, looked at them and said, "You do not know how safe a thing democracy is."

That leap of confidence is what is involved here. I think there is a history, Mr. Chairman, a long history, of representative institutions. We call them assemblies, parliaments, congresses, what you will. I think it is the case that history shows that, as these institutions have become more open, they have become more representative, more democratic—and more effective. I would like it thought that what you are proposing today is consistent with a long succession of efforts to do just that. It is not, perhaps, remembered that there was a time, for some five centuries, during which it was a crime in England to report anything said in the House of Commons, it being thought that if it were known, if the King were to learn what the Members of Parliament were saying, he could punish them for doing so. Only after long experience with such matters that the Parliament decided, in effect, that the more people who know what is said, the less likelihood is there to be retribution. And only at the beginning of the 19th century did it become legal to publish accounts of the Parliament, in what we now know as the Hansard. And only some decades later did we begin what we call the Congressional Record.

Now it is the case, Mr. Chairman, that 49 of 50 States televise some portion of their legislature's proceedings, and they seem to get on. Twenty national parliaments do so. Which are they that do so? They are the genuinely democratic assemblies. The country closest to us in manner and procedures, is Canada. In Canada, they have for some years now televised the debates in the House of Commons. They do so in the manner that I understand you contemplate, which is that the camera will in most circumstances show only the Presiding Officer or the Speaker. And they refer to the process, the camera, as "an electronic Hansard." It seems to me the same can be done for the debates in the Senate, an electronic Congressional Record, with a minimum of panning around to see what can be found. Senator Long is not wrong in his recollection of what a Democratic National Convention looks like on television, excepting when Walter Cronkite is speaking. But he would not find that the way the cameras report the speakers is wrong. To the contrary, those addresses, that formerly were available only to the 300 people present, are now available to the 30 million people who watch and hear.

And if you trust the democratic processes, you trust enlarging them.

Therefore, for fear of having lost the chairman's attention, I will conclude my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just inquiring for the Senator's benefit whether or not that last buzz was a vote on the Senate floor.

Senator MOYNIHAN. The vote is at 2 o'clock, as we all know.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a quorum call presently underway on the Senate floor.

The Senator is a historian. What archival value do you think a tape would have assuming, first of all, that these tapes are not going to be immediately broadcast but that they are going to be made and stored in the Library of Congress. Would that have any archival value?

Senator MOYNIHAN. Well, can I ask you if you think that the Webster-Clay debate, if the flavor could have been captured more if you heard it rather than just read it, would have any archival value? Of course, you would. And if vou could hear it and see it, how well you could teach that ordeal of the Union, and how well you could account for the failure of this institution, the Senate, to prevent it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let me press for a slightly different set of assumptions, and that is that you are trying to explain to the country why a decision is made which may have an impact on the life of every man, woman, and child in the country. Do you think that, aside from the archival value, that it would be helpful for people to hear the arguments pro and con as they are made, not as they are reported by some interpretive reporter, but as they are made on the Senate floor?

Senator MOYNIHAN. Well, I think, Mr. Chairman, any of us who have served in this body or bodies such as this, will accept that the one overwhelming fact of our lives is that we are, in fact, representative. We do what we think the people we represent want, for the reason Senator Long has very precisely stated, that we wish to be reelected in all but abnormal circumstances.

The question is knowing what they want, and you do it by reading the newspapers, reading your mail, going about, but nothing will reach as many people or produce a more representative response than being able to say what you think on television and having them watch it, because you will get back their response, and you will respond thereto. And that is in large—not entire—but in large sense, our purpose in this body.

The CHAIRMAN. One final question.

Senator MOYNIHAN. I do not want George Will to get to thinking I am a plebiscitary Democrat. I am simply a Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you already made him uncomfortable once when you mentioned Samuel Gompers; I noticed that he squirmed in his chair. [Laughter.]

But my question is this. The Senate made a hesitant, tremulous, half step in the direction of television coverage during the Panama Canal debates, when we had audio coverage of the Senate. My own experience with that audio coverage was that people came to me on the street and said, "We are surprised by what we hear. We did not know you Senators knew as much as you seem to."

Do you think there is anything to fear? Do you share the concerns of the Senator from Louisiana and the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Mississippi in this respect?

Senator MOYNIHAN. Mr. Chairman, I think there is much to fear, but that we should let hope prevail.

I thank you very much, sir. I know you have important witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Senator Moynihan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE: I wish to thank you for inviting me here today and affording me this opportunity to speak in support of public broadcasting of Senate proceedings.

I support the passage of Senator Mathias' resolution that we are here today to examine. S. Res. 66 seeks to adopt the necessary rule changes needed to implement broadcast coverage of Senate proceedings. Whether such radio and television coverage is prudent and desirable is a question the Senate has debated extensively and resolved affirmatively. Last April the Senate passed by voice vote Senator Baker's resolution providing for the creation of a Senate television and radio system similar to that installed in the House of Representatives in 1979. Our intent in this matter was clear; what we now need to explore are the technical and procedural aspects of this endeavor. I believe that Senator Mathias' resolution provides a desirable framework within which we may study the efficacy of televising the proceedings in the Senate Chamber.

When the issue of broadcasting Senate proceedings first came to the floor last year I voiced a number of concerns regarding the technical operation of the television cameras and the possible disruptive effects therefrom upon the Senate's deliberations. I was particularly concerned about who would control the cameras and where they would be placed. S. Res. 66 meets these concerns. The cameras are to be controlled by the Senate and will be placed along the gallery railings, all the time being operated by remote control so that only the presiding officer and the recognized speaker are on camera. This is similar to the arrangement in the House of Commons in Ottawa where they describe the use of the television camera as an electronic hansard and focus only upon the image of the person speaking. The absence of random pan shots will keep the focus on the official business of the Senate, and I believe this to be proper.

Senator Mathias' resolution also mandates that the Committee on Rules and Administration establish a test period in which to monitor the proper functioning of the cameras and to investigate the strengths and weaknesses of the operating procedures employed. At the end of this test period sample tapes are to be sent to every Senator's office for review and comment. This seems to be a sound approach.

Despite my earlier misgivings, I have supported the broadcasting of Senate proceedings. The House has televised its proceedings since 1979, and most observers and congressional leaders on both sides of the aisle agree that this experiment has been a success. The House experience has affirmed the notion that the public has a right to see and hear its elected Representatives going about the business of governing—a notion that has roots in the beginning of our constitutional system, when, in 1794, the Senate, not yet a decade old, voted to establish public galleries. The televising of Senate proceedings can and should be considered merely an extension of those galleries.

Not only does the public have a right to witness the deliberations of the Senate, but the fact is that the practice is so widespread that at present 49 out of 50 State legislatures, and over 20 national legislatures, televise their proceedings in whole or in part. There is a third, equally compelling reason for television coverage. The value of video recordings of the Senate's proceedings as an educational process is inestimable. It is the continuing responsibility of any generation to teach its young people about its form of government in order that they may continue that form of government when they succeed to the responsibilities of adults. Is it not the case that live television coverage of a significant debate, brought into classrooms as an illustration of public debate of an issue under deliberation from first to last, would be a teaching tool of enormous value? Video tape cassettes of such debates would be a teaching device unsurpassed in the clarity of its illustration of what goes on in Congress. The debates in Congress on the great issues of our day are something the youth of America have a right to see in the event, in the flesh, and not try to reconstruct from the altogether inadequate account that is left to us in print in the Congressional Record.

I urge the passage of Senator Mathias' resolution, and I wish to thank the chairman and members of the committee for inviting me here today.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is the distinguished senior correspondent, commentator, reporter for CBS, Mr. Walter Cronkite.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER CRONKITE, SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT, CBS NEWS

Mr. CRONKITE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I do have a prepared statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Which you wish to read, I pray?

Mr. CRONKITE. If I can learn to read quickly, without a prompter, I will do it.

I obviously appreciate the opportunity to be with you to add my voice, for whatever it is worth, to those who urge this committee to take action to open the proceedings to radio and television coverage in the Senate.

I obviously appreciate and commend the efforts of the Senate majority leader, the chairman of this committee, and the other members of the committee and the Senate who have worked so long and so hard to allow radio and television coverage of the Senate floor proceedings.

I want you to know this is not my accustomed role, appearing before legislative bodies to recommend legislative action. That is not and should not be a reporter's function. But I am here today because I believe so fervently that our democratic institutions cannot function effectively, unless the public is fully informed about the workings of their Government.

The public does rely heavily today on the electronic medium for news and information. We all know that. Because of that, the present restriction on broadcast coverage of the Senate does, it seems to me, have the effect of depriving the public of vital information about the workings of this most important institution.

In this era when broadcast news has become such a major source of information for the American people, it seems to me ironic that the proceedings of the "world's greatest deliberative body" are not available through that medium.

The principal objection I have heard is that broadcast coverage of the Senate on a gavel-to-gavel basis will affect the fundamental nature and operation of the Senate and will somehow impair the ability of the Senate to do its work. That is a very legitimate concern, I should think, to the Senators. I certainly do not pretend to be expert in the rules and procedures of this body, but it just is not apparent to me that fundamental changes in the Senate would be caused by microphones and cameras, and if so, it might only be for the better.

I first sat in the Gallery of the Senate 37 years ago, and as a much younger man, watched in awe the proceedings on the floor below. Since then, it has often concerned me that the public has no opportunity to see firsthand the complexity of the Senate's work, and indeed, I am willing to say, even if some may charge me with naivete, the skill and dedication that its members apply to the debates on the great issues. The public sees its Senators on the campaign trail, on television interview programs, in hearings, on campaign commercials, and maybe occasionally at a Fourth of July picnic. But the public never gets to see its Senators doing the large and ultimately important share of their work, debating on the Senate floor the great issues of our time—doing, if you please, the people's work.

What this measure would do is to make the news coverage of the Senate more informative for that public, and certainly, more interesting. Surely this is in the interest of government and the public. Indeed, at a time in our history when the public quite legitimately has come to expect that its government institutions operate as openly as possible, I submit that this institution could significantly enhance its public standing by permitting broadcast coverage.

I agree with you, Mr. Chairman, when you said there is no substitute for having cameras present on the floor to capture the Senate's debates. You said, "It is the fire in your eyes. It is the lilt in your voice. It is the kind of interest you put in what you are saying." And I agree with the majority leader, who said that televising the Senate is "the best step we can take to restore to the Senate the quality of a great forum for public debate."

When Hubert Humphrey introduced the Modern Congress Act of 1974, which would have provided for the closed circuit broadcast and videotaping of Senate and House proceedings, he said that a 20th century Congress cannot be content with employing 18th or 19th century technology. By the same token, a 20th century people cannot long be content with receiving news of their Senators by 18th and 19th century reporting techniques.

From practically the first concept of this republic, it has always been assumed that the public in whose name business here is done has the right to watch that business being done.

Now we are almost two generations into an age when the "visitors gallery" need no longer be limited to a few rows in the Capitol building for those able, willing and prosperous enough to journey to Washington. It must be viewed as unfortunate that the technological opportunity has not yet been seized. The tools of the broadcast reporters, cameras, and microphones unquestionably have a unique potential to provide even greater insights into the manner by which the public's Government goes about its business.

Of course, the drafters of our Constitution could not have foreseen these technological advances, but they surely meant by giving us the first amendment that the public is entitled to be as fully informed as possible. To deny the more modern technologies access to the Senate is to deny to the American people information that should be available to them and to which they are entitled.

I was the anchor and managing editor of the CBS Evening News in 1979 when the House of Representatives first permitted the transmission by radio and television of each day's floor proceedings. Those proceedings are provided by satellite communications daily into the homes of those able to receive the C-SPAN service, and they also are provided directly to the news departments of the three broadcast networks and other news organizations which have regularly covered the House proceedings.

This has enabled the public more frequently to hear their Congressmen directly, instead of having their words spoken by a reporter. Incidentally, we at CBS News believe that the best and the most credible way of providing this coverage to the public is to locate the responsibility for manning cameras and microphones with the broadcast press rather than with government officials.

What this all means, however, to the broadcaster is that he no longer need track down the participants in House debates for hallway interviews, but can use excerpts from the actual debate which present the Congressman's views just as he presented them to his colleagues on the floor. This is a significant difference, and there is no question in my mind that the availability of these proceedings have contributed to an increasing public understanding of the issues before the Congress and an enhanced public interest in the Congress.

Accordingly, rather than hindering the work of the Senate, I am firmly convinced that by contributing to a more interested and more understanding public, radio and television coverage of Senate floor proceedings will add to the respect accorded this body.

I am convinced, Mr. Chairman, that this body will inevitably open its proceedings to cameras and microphones. It seems to me that there is a "time of the essence" quality to this debate. Rarely in our history has our country faced so many great decisions that will affect the quality of life for a century ahead. Those issues will be debated on the floor of the U.S. Senate. It is imperative that the people participate in those decisions through their representatives in this body. That can best be accomplished through the miracle that technology has now provided us. The inevitable decision should not be further delayed.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Cronkite.

Within the last year or two, there was a vivid, bitter, perhaps even vitriolic debate on the Senate floor. One of the witnesses to that debate was Senator Goldwater. He apparently mulled it over in his mind overnight and wanted to go back and actually read the words the next morning. So he picked up the Congressional Record and flipped through, looking for these words, but he flipped through in vain, because the Record had been revised—in this case, not extended; those words had been suppressed.

Prior to that experience, Senator Goldwater had been a great opponent of television coverage in the Senate, but that converted him. He said at that time that, "The only way we are going to be able to keep a permanent, accurate, dependable record of every word that is said in the Senate is to have television coverage."

Now, as a newsman and one who has gained great prominence for being credible and accurate, do you find a problem in the discrepancy between the Congressional Record as it is now published and what actually has occurred?

Mr. CRONKITE. I do indeed, sir. I feel that indeed, there is a lack of candor in the process which has been developed through the Congressional Record. As we all know, it is not a record of the proceedings of the Houses of the Congress; it is instead a record that people prefer the public to believe occurred here.

We have a problem with perception against reality. Certainly, perception is badly served by the Congressional Record. It seems it would much better be served by the actual record of what happens on the floor of the Senate, as recorded by the television cameras.

If there is a legal question to be solved later, as was brought up here earlier today, it certainly seems to me that in the future, the legal record would be more likely that of the recorded proceedings shown by television, perhaps augmented by supplementary material in the Congressional Record, than by the Congressional Record itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in your statement, you mentioned hallway interviews, and earlier, Senator Danforth had commented that he felt that the studios and other facilities here were adequate to get the views of Senators and, as he put it, to put them on the evening news. But you have made a distinction between those studio interviews and hallways interviews, and the actual conduct of debate. Could you explain exactly how you feel about that?

Mr. CRONKITE. Indeed, I feel that the hallway interview obviously can lead to the very campaigning in the Halls of the Congress that some fear might transfer itself to the floor of the Senate. It is the more aggressive Senator or Congressman who is going to make himself available to the hallway interview than that Senator or Congressman who is attempting to really pursue the Nation's business on the floor of one of the Houses.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Long has made a great point today, as he has done on other occasions, as to what kind of coverage we have—where are the cameras going to be directed? Now, your testimony is that the cameras ought to be directed wherever the newsmen direct them. But let me pursue that to the specific problem we have here.

The opponents of television have said that it will be a dreadful thing if the public were to see what really occurs, which is that there is a Chamber in which the majority of the seats are empty most of the time, and that therefore, there should not be panning the whole Chamber but just a direct camera on whoever may be speaking at a given moment. Given your predilection for the news media to have free range, do you think that the reputation of the Senate would suffer if the actual scene were portrayed? What do you think the public reaction would be? You have got a pretty good basis for anticipating reaction.

Mr. CRONKITE. Well, I do not know about those qualifications, Senator, but I personally do feel that what probably would happen—my judgment would be—with the television proceedings of the Senate would be that, first of all, after a very short period of time—which might indeed take place—in which there would be a certain consciousness of the television cameras present, and perhaps even a misuse of that opportunity, they very quickly would be forgotten, and the Senate's business would then be conducted as it always has been conducted, with one possible exception. I think that we can look at the proceedings of the political party conventions which have been mentioned here. The decorum at those conventions has vastly improved as a result of the presence of the cameras. It is not perfect yet, and never will be, of course, but I think the speeches from the rostrum are listened to with a little more attention than they were before—not completely, as we all know, still, but with a great deal more attention than before. The speeches themselves have a great deal more responsibility than they probably had before, and the net result is that the party conventions look to be a great deal more serious to the American public than they did before television.

I remember the first major televising of a convention in 1952, and both party conventions were an absolute shambles on the floor. Business was done behind the scenes nearly as possible. There was a crowd on the podium, arguing the debating points of the moment, that the public was not aware of—they were aware of the confusion, but not of the serious nature of the business. Now it is far more open, and it is clear what the business of the conventions is and the business proceeds in a much more orderly fashion.

I would suspect that you probably would have, in major debates on the Senate floor, those which would interest the public in the first place, and therefore be picked up for television. You would have, probably, a great presence of Senators on the floor. And if that led us to a more serious discussion of the issues and even to greater statesmanship, I would think that is a plus for the democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. One last question. We are in some respects a house divided. We televise these proceedings and other committee proceedings, and yet we do not allow the cameras on the Senate floor, and in a larger sense, the Congress is a house divided. It allows television proceedings in the House of Representatives but not in the Senate.

Does this have any tendency to skew the news, to distort the relative importance of the various activities that are going on on Capitol Hill?

Mr. CRONKITE. I do not think so, Senator. It seems to me that what we are looking at here is two prospects with the televising of the Senate proceedings. One is that, through C-SPAN—and perhaps, other organizations that may come along—there would be available full proceedings of the Senate. The public probably would watch those proceedings only to a degree that their own special interest may be involved at any particular juncture. The other aspect is that which the evening news programs would focus on, and that is the great debates over the great issues, the important ones that are really going to alter our quality of life in the future. Then, I would hope, while I cannot place a brief before you that this would mean a greatly expanded coverage of Senate proceedings on the much abbreviated evening news broadcast, I would hope that by the availability of that, the networks themselves might see their way clear to give more time to extended coverage of the major debates. I would think the public would almost demand it, knowing that it was available.

And that, I cannot see but it would enhance the democratic functioning of this Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, perhaps I was not entirely clear in my question. To take you into the cutting room, if you have some tape from a House debate, a live debate in the House of Representatives, you perhaps have an exchange in a committee room, but you have got a blank as far as the Senate is concerned today, does that pose a problem for the news editor? You have to somehow or other cover the Senate debate by other than the real tape today.

Mr. CRONKITE. That is true, that is certainly true, yes. I think that if the matter is of equal value, and it is simply then a judgment as to which is more interesting to present to the public, you would probably go for that where you can actually hear and see what is being done and said. However, I think as a caveat in there, it would really have to be of equal value that the balls would have to be juggled in the air at that point. I really would not accept that television news editors would choose the picture over a more serious matter occurring in the Senate. But of course, then, the Senate is going to be subject to secondhand reports, rather than the direct availability of the more important quotations from those Senators who have taken a part in the debate.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Cronkite.

Mr. CRONKITE. You are certainly welcome.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Cronkite follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WALTER CRONKITE, SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT, CBS NEWS

I welcome the opportunity to be here today to add my voice to those who have urged this committee to take action to open the proceedings of the Senate to radio and television coverage.

I appreciate, and commend, the efforts of the Senate Majority Leader, the Chairman of this Committee, and the other members of this Committee and the Senate who have worked long and hard to allow radio and television coverage of Senate floor proceedings.

I am not accustomed to appearing before legislative bodies to recommend legislative action. That is not, and should not be, a reporter's function. But I do so today because I believe most fervently that our democratic institutions cannot function effectively, unless the public is fully informed about the workings of their government.

Because the public relies so heavily on the electronic medium for news and information, the present restriction on broadcast coverage of the Senate has the effect of depriving the public of vital information about the workings of this important institution.

In this era when broadcast news has become such a prominent source of information for the American people, it is ironic that the proceedings of the "world's greatest deliberative body" are not available through that medium.

The principal objection I have heard is that broadcast coverage of the Senate on a gavel-to-gavel basis will affect the fundamental nature and operation of the Senate and will somehow impair the ability of the Senate to do its work. I do not pretend to be expert in the rules and procedures of this body, but it is simply not apparent to me that fundamental changes in the Senate will be caused by microphones and cameras.

I first sat in the Gallery of the Senate 37 years ago and watched in awe the proceeding below. Since then, it has often concerned me that the public has no opportunity to see firsthand the complexity of the Senate's work and the skill and dedication that its members apply to debates on the great issues. The public sees its Senators on the campaign trail, on television interview programs, in hearings, and maybe at a Fourth of July picnic. But the public never gets to see its Senators doing a large share of their work—debating on the Senate floor the great issues of our time, doing here the people's work.

What this measure would do is make the news coverage of the Senate more informative and more interesting. Surely this is in the interest of government and the public. Indeed, at a time in our history when the public, quite legitimately, has come to expect that its government institutions operate as openly as possible, I submit that this institution could significantly enhance its public standing by permitting broadcast coverage.

I agree with the Chairman of this Committee who has said that there is no substitute for having cameras present on the floor to capture the Senate's debates. "It is the fire in your eyes. It is the lilt in your voice. It is the kind of interest you put in what you are saying," he said. And, I agree with the Majority Leader who has said that televising the Senate is the "best step we can take to restore to the Senate the quality of a great forum for public debate."

When Hubert Humphrey introduced the Modern Congress Act of 1974, which would have provided for the closed circuit broadcast and videotaping of Senate and House proceedings, he said that a 20th century Congress cannot be content with employing 18th or 19th century technology. By the same token, a 20th century people cannot long be content with receiving news of their Senators by 18th and 19th century reporting techniques.

From practically the first concept of this republic, it has always been assumed that the public in whose name business here is done has the right to watch that business done.

Now we are almost two generations into an age when the "visitors gallery" need no longer be limited to a few rows in the Capitol building for those able and willing to journey to Washington. It must be viewed as unfortunate that the technological opportunity has not yet been seized. The tools of the broadcast reporters, cameras and microphones, unquestionably have a unique potential to provide even greater insights into the manner by which their government goes about their business.

Of course, the drafters of our Constitution could not have forseen these technological advances since the quill, but they surely meant by giving us the First Amendment that the public is entitled to be as fully informed as possible. To deny the more modern technologies access to the Senate is to deny to the American people information that should be available to them.

I was the Anchor and Managing Editor of the CBS Evening News in 1979 when the House of Representatives first permitted the transmission by radio and television of each day's floor proceedings. Those proceedings are provided by satellite communications daily into the homes of those able to receive the C-Span service, and are also provided directly to the news departments of the three broadcast networks and other news organizations, which have regularly covered the House proceedings. This has enabled the public more frequently to hear their Congressmen directly, instead of having his words spoken by a reporter. Incidentally, we at CBS News believe that the best—and most credible—way of providing this coverage to the public is to locate the responsibility for manning cameras and microphones with the broadcast press rather than with government officials. What this means to the editor is that he no longer need track down the participants in House debates for hallway interviews, but can use excerpts from the actual debate which present the Congressman's views just as he presented them to his colleagues on the floor. This is a significant difference, and there is no question in my mind that the availability of these proceedings has contributed to an increasing public understanding of the issues before the Congress and an enhanced public interest in the Congress.

Accordingly, rather than hindering the work of the Senate, I am firmly convinced that by contributing to a more interested and more understanding public, radio and television coverage of Senate floor proceedings will add to the respect accorded this body.

I am convinced, Mr. Chairman, that this body will inevitably open its proceedings to cameras and microphones. It seems to me that there is a "time is of the essence" quality to this debate. Rarely in our history has our country faced so many great decisions that will affect the quality of life to come for a century ahead. Those issues will be debated on the floor of the United States Senate. It is imperative that the people participate in those decisions through their representatives in this body. That can best be accomplished through the miracle that technology has now provided us. The inevitable decision should not be further delayed.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is the well-known columnist and television commentator, Mr. George Will, who has crowned a life of conspicuous achievement by becoming a citizen of Maryland.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE F. WILL, NATIONALLY SYNDICATED COLUMNIST

Mr. WILL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My name is George Will. I am, in ascending order of social significance, a journalist, a former member of the Senate staff, a constituent and neighbor of the Chairman, and the spouse of the lady who, when the Senate does its duty, will be Assistant Secretary of Education for Special Education and Rehabilitation.

The CHAIRMAN. A confirmation proceeding which would be enhanced by being televised.

Mr. WILL. Having previously expressed myself in opposition to televising the Senate, I have been invited by a likeminded Senator to do so again, and I welcome the opportunity.

Two kinds of persons, Mr. Chairman, are ardently in favor of televising Senate proceedings: Senators and journalists. There may be, but I have not noticed, a popular clamor for this innovation. I certainly have not detected in the country beyond the beltway a sense of deprivation arising from the fact that Senators who are televised in committee hearings and in the Senate press gallery and elsewhere are not also televised on the Senate floor.

It is understandable that Senators want more opportunities for ventilating their views before a vast audience, and it is understandable that journalists want to extend the domain of all forms of journalism. Nevertheless, I believe that television in the Senate would not be good for journalism or for the Senate.

About journalism's virtue and the saving thereof, I would say only this: Television, for reasons beyond the control of television journalists, labors under severe time constraints. That is one reason why coverage of political controversies involves primarily what are referred to in television, rather wonderfully, as "sound bites." These are short snippets of talk—25 seconds is a big "bite." The principal use—the only significant use, I would maintain—of cameras in the Senate chamber would be to provide the networks with such "sound bites." Do not say, Mr. Chairman, that you have not been warned.

There is an understandable predilection on the part of journalists to think that those government procedures are best which make the craft of journalism more stimulating to practice. For that reason, we can expect constant pressure to intrude the presence of journalism and its myriad technologies into all the hitherto pristine recesses of government. Courtrooms are obvious candidates, and many already have welcomed electronic journalism. I await, with a melancholy sense of the inevitable, calls for "openness" in, say, Supreme Court conferences, and even all the functions of the Federal Reserve Board. But the fundamental purpose of Government is to produce good Government, not entertaining journalism. Journalism should not aim to be as entertaining as possible for the practitioners and consumers of it. And surely, no one believes it is axiomatic that "openness" conduces, always and everywhere, to better Government.

If I might say at this point parenthetically, Mr. Chairman, I was interested that the Senate majority leader said in his opening statement that the young, brilliant Founding Fathers would have favored the kind of openness to which he refers. When the young, brilliant founding fathers met in Philadelphia to write the Constitution, they closed the doors, and although it was very hot in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, they locked the windows, the better to preserve the necessities of a certain kind of deliberation.

The case for televising the Senate Chamber is sometimes couched in rhetoric much favored by journalists, rhetoric about "the public's right to know." I confess that of all the rights that have bloomed in tropical luxuriance in recent years, the "right to know" is to me the most unclear. But whatever it means, the public's right to know about the Senate is not in jeopardy or at issue in the debate about televising the Senate. It is, to say no more, terminologically inexact to assert that the Senate is somehow "closed" unless this particular technology intrudes in that particular place. Most of the work of the Senate occurs off the floor and within camera range, and all of the work done on the floor is observed from the press gallery, and can be commented upon by Senators in the television facilities the Senate has provided for itself a short walk from the floor.

I might say, again parenthetically, Mr. Chairman, that those who couch their case for televising the Senate in terms of rhetoric about "the public's right to know" deserve to be hoist by their own petard. It seems to me, if, the public has a soverign "right to know," then the public has a right to see the Senate as it would be seen by a scanning television camera. The wonders of technology now include the minicam, and I think it might be fun for the public to have the "right to know" what goes on in the cloakroom. And I would be interested in all those Senators who believe in "the public's right to know" expressing their views on whether or not we should, in the name of that right, abolish voice votes. I offer that just as gratuitous advice for the Senate.

Some persons advocate television in the Senate Chamber because they think it will change the Senate substantially. One Senator—a friend, so I will not give his name—even professes to believe that cameras would draw a majority of Senators to the Chamber every afternoon for stimulating debates on the great issues that ought to be debated greatly before the nation.

I will pass over without comment the assumption that great debates must result when great numbers of Senators gather. But I must again stress that what most of the public would see would be "sound bites," not extended arguments. I invite the committee to imagine the incoherence of the Lincoln-Douglas debates when reduced to "sound bites" for a sliver of the 22 minutes available for news after the commercials for radial tires and denture adhesives.

Furthermore, it is fair to ask, if Senators are going to allocate more time to floor debate, when will the work of this body get done?

Others who favor televising the Senate Chamber do so, they say, only because they are confident that the effect on the Senate will be negligible. They argue, by and large rightly, that the House of Representatives has not been significantly changed by television. And they argue, wrongly, that there are no grounds for saying that television is less suited for one chamber than the other.

It is a well-known principle of science, Mr. Chairman, that the act of observing a phenomenon can alter the phenomenon. The principle applies to the Senate, even if one discounts the potential effect of cameras as incitements to excesses.

Extending the Senate's audience from a few hundred persons in gallery seats to tens of millions of television viewers would mean a qualitative change wrought by quantitative change. It would compromise what should be the Senate's splendid and unique role, the role of funtioning in an atmosphere reasonably insulated from undue pressures.

I worked here for 3 years. I have watched the Senate with affection and interest for another decade. It is not my impression that Senators feel unduly isolated from clamourous pressures already, or that they are insufficiently attentive to the eddies and tides of public opinion. Surely, what the Government needs is more, not less, insulation from the importunings of the immediate; surely, it needs less, not more, pressure to conform to the country's short-term concerns. Televising the Senate will strengthen all the wrong tendencies now afflicting Government.

The defining principle of republican government is the principle of representation, the principle that in a republic, the people do not decide issues, they decide who shall decide. The healthy function of republican government requires, I believe, a residuum of distance, detachment, aloofness, even, if you will, mystery. This truth is intellectually difficult to formulate and politically awkward to express. It is, nonetheless, a truth. As the truth is subtle, so, too, is the process of nurturing an elevating ambiance anywhere in the passionate business of politics. The Senate, probably more than any of the world's great institutions of representation, has nurtured such an ambiance. When the procedures of a justly venerated institution are at issue, tradition should impart to its procedures a momentum for respect.

In this case, surely, we have an occasion for respecting the principle that when there is no reason to change, there is reason not to change. In its modern formulation, the principle is that, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." The Senate ain't broke, and whatever ails it cannot be corrected by and may be aggravated by the presence of cameras in the chamber.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Will.

I agree with you that the issue really is not the right to know, but I would pose to you the question, isn't the issue the right to know better, the right to know more accurately, the right to know more fully? And I would pose that question to you in the light of several specific cases.

We have had some discussion here today of hallway interviews, the kind of things that we have all participated in after the event. The vote is over, the principal participants go to the President's room outside the Senate Chamber, and there they are interviewed, and they make statements about what has just happened on the Senate floor. It is a common failing of the human mind that our best thoughts and our best lines occur to us after the conversation is over, after the debate is over. So in those hallway interviews, you get the benefit of the afterthoughts, the smart remarks that we were not quick enough to think about in the debate itself, and they may make good copy, but they have no impact on the decision made in the Senate.

Conversely, we may have the kind of situation that riled Senator Goldwater, where there were very real words spoken in the Senate that had an impact on what was decided in the Senate, but because they were so real and so bitter and so incisive, they were deleted from the record. In effect, they were written on the wind. And so, those important words that were central to a decision of the Senate were not recorded anyplace. So isn't it true to say that we are talking about the right to know better?

Mr. WILL. Well, first, about cleaning up the record, as I believe it was called when I did it as a member of the Senate staff, I worked for a very fine Senator who was, especially in the heat of debate, a better Senator than he was a grammarian, and I used to go around afterwards and make his sentences parse.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a common characteristic.

Mr. WILL. Yes; and, having made the Senator's sentences parse, I would then go back to other work. It seems to me there is a line to be drawn between cleaning up syntax and changing substance, and it seems to me it should be within the power of the Senate rulemaking procedures to discipline its members to do that without bringing television in to look over their shoulder as a kind of conscience. So, while I would support——

The CHAIRMAN. That might be one way of doing it, though.

Mr. WILL. It might be one way, but it seems to me to be overkill. Whether or not accurate and better coverage would come out of televising the Senate is a nice question, and I am not sure answering it in the way that you are inclined to is decisive in this argument in any case. It seems to me very open to argument whether the American people will get an improved understanding of complicated debates, either about arms control or revenue sharing—that is, the highly passionate or the mundane—by what television in the Senate is going to produce, which are to repeat "sound bites."

Jack Danforth said earlier that people were being coached in how to make 30- and 60-second statements. I cannot remember the last time a 60-second statement by any "talking head"—a television term, and indicative—got on television, so it seems to me that the "sound bites" are shorter and shorter, and it is not at all clear that it makes for a more accurate and better coverage.

You also said that the best thoughts often occur afterwards. Well, then, maybe that would be the best kind of thought to put on television.

Furthermore, even if one decides, as you have, Mr. Chairman, that more accurate and better understanding of public affairs would result from this, we have to weigh that real value against the values lost, cited by Senators Stennis, Danforth, and Long, in the process of getting this better coverage.

The CHAIRMAN. I did say the best thoughts often occur afterward. By "best," I was thinking of the most quotable, the cleverest, the snappiest kind of statements that are likely to be "sound bites." And isn't that what you are getting today? You are getting sound bites, exactly what you object to, because you get the "sound bites" that are produced in the studio after the event.

Mr. WILL. But what vou are advocating, Senator, is a systematic incentive to think in advance to produce the sharper comment on the Senate floor.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, I want to associate myself with Mr. Cronkite. He said that if there is a change, it might be a change for the better, and I do not think it would be a bad thing for Senators to think in advance before they entered debate.

Mr. WILL. It would be a departure.

The CHAIRMAN. An innovative change. But it does seem to me that you are right in objecting to "sound bites," and at least then, the media would have the option—I am under no delusion that it is an option that would be exercised very frequently—but the media would then have the option to have something more than a "sound bite." They could actually portray the debate as it unfolded.

But one final question, and a parochial question. We like to have George Will in Maryland as much as possible, and I hope that George Will likes to be in Maryland as much as possible and not deeply involved in matters of other places, including downtown Washington, D.C. Let me ask how you, as a practical journalist, would react to being able to stay in Chevy Chase, Md., surrounded by your family, the birds singing outside your window, and turn on your television set and being able to cover a full debate in the Senate by C-SPAN or some other extended coverage, being able to see it without having to travel down through the auto exhaust and traffic and jostling of the city.

Mr. WILL. Well, Senator, the times when the Senate debate would be competition for the singing birds in southern Maryland would be pretty rare, as you know.

The CHAIRMAN. Right on cue.

Mr. WILL. The punishing tedium of watching gavel-to-gavel coverage of the Senate is not something that I would expect often to avail myself of. However, I think I would concede your point, that there would be occasions, at least once every 2 or 3 years, when I would want to turn that on. The question is, however, whether or not, for these essentially rare opportunities and for my poor convenience, the traditions of the Senate ought to be tampered with. It would be nice, I suppose, on those occasions, and if it is, I will thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. You would concede it would be at least marginally useful under those conditions?

Mr. WILL. That is the extent of my concession, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize Senator Long to propound a question.

Senator LONG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank the chairman for the very fine way he has conducted this hearing. I think he has been most fair and has afforded both sides the opportunity to have their say.

I did want to ask one question, Mr. Chairman. I once served on the committee, and I think you are doing a great job as chairman of this committee. I did want to complete, for the record, this Senator's reaction, and perhaps Mr. Will's reaction, to this matter about a correction of the record.

The fact is that today, the Senate proceedings are broadcast throughout the Capitol Building. You can turn on your device in your office, and you can hear the debate——

The CHAIRMAN. Audio.

Senator LONG. Audio, yes. And there would be no problem whatever if the committee wanted to do that. I would know of no opposition, if they wanted simply to put a tape recorder to it and record the actual words being spoken on the Senate floor. But I think the record ought to be somewhat more fair to the Senate about this matter of correction of the record.

Many times, in managing bills, we wish to make for the record a statement of what this bill is intended to do and how certain provisions are intended to be construed. And in that respect, there is oftentimes no real debate about the point. Both sides agree on what this ought to mean. And many times, without ever saying it, you simply put in the record, under our procedure, a statement where one does not even read all the words; he just puts a statement in the record, and that is available to all Senators to read. Now, if they want to contest that legislative history, it is available to them the next morning in print. And when we, under our procedures, have a reading of the record, and then we agree to confirm that record, that in effect is agreeing that this printed record is the record that we want the court to look at when we pass on our legislative history.

So if one, in speaking, leaves out one crucial word in a sentence—suppose he leaves out the word, "not"—and it is very clear that it ought to be there, if we have the time to do it, it is very desirable that the record should show what he intended to say, particularly if that is not a matter of debate between those on the floor, but it might be the subject of a lawsuit later on by people who were not even present to hear the debate.

So there is something to be said for permitting Senators to be able to modify that record to make it say what they intended to say, but I do not believe that anyone here—I know I would not, and I certainly think that those of us who have a difference of opinion with our chairman about the matter of televising the Senate—really has no quarrel that if anyone wants a recorded version of what was actually said on the Senate floor, with all the human frailties that that implies, and likewise, I believe that even if you do record it, we would still protect the right to correct the record. As Mr. Will so well knows, many times, Senators have asked consent to correct that record to make it read the way they intended for it to read, and sometimes, that is because of a failure of the reporter; sometimes, it is because the fellow did not correctly say what he intended to say in the first instance. But for the printed record, and for the point of legislative history, you would like for it to read the way the committee intended it and the way the Senate actually intended the record to read.

I thank the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Long.

Mr. Will, do you have any comment on that?

Mr. WILL. I agree with everything Senator Long said.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for being with us.

Our next witness is Mr. Julian Goodman, the former chairman of the National Broadcasting Co.

TESTIMONY OF JULIAN GOODMAN, FORMER CHAIRMAN, NBC

Mr. GOODMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Julian Goodman, and I live in Larchmont, N.Y. I served NBC for 34 years in various capacities as a newswriter, head of the Washington Bureau, vice president of news, and president and chairman of the board. I left in 1979 and no longer have any connection with NBC or RCA, where I was a director for 6 years.

I do serve on the board of directors of the Gannett Co., Inc., the Gulf Oil Corp., and the Larchmont Federal Savings & Loan Association.

I support Senate Resolution 66, and I hope the Senate will approve it swiftly. It will give the American people an opportunity to see for themselves that most important part of our legislative process that they have never seen before: the debates, the speeches, the votes that take place on the floor of the Senate.

I can understand the reluctance of those who do not wish to alter the traditions of the Senate, but I believe the benefits to the public far outweigh the limited risks of disturbing the orderly processes of the Senate.

While I have spent much of my professional career in fervent support of the first amendment to the Constitution, and the right of broadcast journalists to be covered by it, I do not make this plea on those grounds. I do not think that is the issue here. I simply believe there are great benefits that will accrue to the American people without harm to the Senate. It seems not to be a question of whether to do it, but how to do it, and I feel the procedure called for in Senate Resolution 66 represents the best opportunity to accomplish that purpose.

The only rein on my enthusiasm lies in my respect for the opinions of those who oppose it, including those who appear before you today. Also, I was born in Kentucky, and nobody ever leaves Kentucky completely, so I am not entirely comfortable in supporting so strongly anything that is opposed by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, Senator Wendell Ford.

I also understand and sympathize with his concern about the cost. My own preference would have been a four-network pool to operate the system, but you are past that point now, and the projected costs do not seem out of line with the benefits to be derived. I do not think covering the Senate actions by radio alone to be an adequate compromise. The technology exists to add the important extra dimension of television, and not just because it exists, but because it has an important value to the public, I think it should be added.

Technology also makes it possible to minimize the intrusive aspects many fear with the advent of Senate television. Its mechanical aspects will hardly be noticed. Then, the dangers of intrusion will lie only in its effect on the behavior of the members. I know there are some fears that have been expressed today that there will be those seeking to dominate the floor with lengthy speeches and with attention-getting tactics. I do not see that as a danger. I have great faith in the ability of the American people to judge what goes on, and the more thev can see their legislative processes in action, the better judges they can become.

It may be true that the bright, articulate, knowledgeable Member of the Senate will benefit by appearing on television. That is not all bad. And the quiet, careful, and responsible Member of the Senate who serves his constituents and his country well behind the scenes, and not necessarily as a television orator, will not necessarily be penalized. People know who serves them well. I have greater faith in them than did H. L. Mencken.

Now, for those who oppose, on general grounds, the widening spread of Washington events open to coverage on radio and television, and who think that is a bad thing, I am their culprit, or at least, one of them. I have played a personal role in opening to radio and television many of the things that once were closed. For instance, I obtained from the late Congressman Charles "Doc" Eaton of New Jersey, then chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, permission to transmit the first live broadcast from a committee of Congress. That occurred in 1947, when Secretary of State Dean Acheson appeared to testify before the Greek-Turkish aid bill.

And there was a time, as hard as it is to believe now, when simple ceremonies of the White House, like Presidential appearances in the Rose Garden, were not available for the microphones of broadcast journalists. With the help of the late Charles G. Ross and his staff, when he was Presidential Press Secretary, our Washington people were able to record, for later broadcast, remarks President Truman made when various group of war veterans, Boy Scouts, and the like called on him in the Rose Garden.

Along with other broadcast journalists in Washington, I worked closely with the late James C. Hagerty, who I believe was the best Press Secretary ever to serve in the White House, to film, for release the same day, the first Presidential press conference ever to be used on television. That occurred on January 19, 1955. The transition from that to live television press conferences by President Kennedy was easy and natural, and now, it seems hard to believe that we ever had anything else.

There was opposition to that on the same grounds we hear now; that some who wished to be stars would try to dominate the press conference. I do not think that has happened, and I think the obvious benefits have far outweighed the problems.

I know there are some who still feel twinges of nostalgia for the days when President Roosevelt could meet with the entire Washington press corps in his office, or for the days when President Hoover had no press conferences at all, and issued statements. But the public has gained much by seeing Presidential press conferences, and I think it will gain much more by seeing the Senate in action.

My own efforts to try to cover the Senate for radio and television have left me with some fond but frustrating experiences. One of the more dramatic Senate debates that occurred during my younger days was the Senate passage of the Taft-Hartley bill, which came only after Vice President Barkley cast the deciding vote, following some memorable speeches. And I recall thinking, as Mr. Cronkite indicated he had today, thinking then what a great thing it would be if everybody could see what I was seeing. But I was left with the device of sending notes in to the principal participants on the Senate floor, asking them to step out to record a minute of reaction to the history that had just happened.

I still have a handwritten note from Senator Robert A. Taft, saying, "I don't do that sort of thing. R.A.T." Well, that had a certain note of finality to it.

During the debate over the conduct of Senator Joseph McCarthy, David Brinkley conceived the idea of reverting to the very earliest of journalistic practices, and we sent a sketch artist over to cover the Senate session. The artist was a talented and gentle man of mild demeanor, the late Leo Hershfield, and his sketches were a great success until, one day, two uniformed guards ejected him on the order of the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate. It had been ruled that the pencil sketches being made on a yellow legal pad by the inoffensive Mr. Hershfield constituted the taking of a picture, which was a violation of the rules of the Senate. Well, with the passage of time, and of Sergeants at Arms, reason prevailed, and that sketching technique remains the only resource available to television today for illustrating what happens on the floor of the Senate.

I really believe the public deserves to see it in real life, as it happens, on television, and I urge the passage of Senate Resolution 66 to make that possible.

It is my fond hope that when it does happen, you will find it much like a child's first day at school—not nearly as bad as you feared, offering new hope for the future, and friends that will last a lifetime.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Goodman.

I have personally been fascinated by your review of the history of the electronic coverage of government. It has called to mind a number of the stages in that development that have not yet been brought up in these hearings on television coverage in the Senate.

I am particularly intrigued by your recollections of the origin of the use of sketches of Senate proceedings, and it seems to me that that is useful and significant to bring up at this time, because we do have these rather fuzzy, interpretive sketches that still appear from time to time on television and in the press, which are really just a poor attempt to do what television cameras would do with great clarity and accuracy.

So that is a contribution to this debate. It is reminding us that we really are allowing to be done poorly what could be done with great excellence.

Mr. GOODMAN. Some of those sketches are fine art, Senator, but they do not always show your best side.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am not critical of the artist, but of course, the artist is portraying what he or she sees, not what necessarily is actually there. It is the difference that Senator Long was mentioning, between perception and reality.

But I was interested to hear of your own participation in this effort, and I hope that by your presence here today, you will have the same success in pushing this effort over the top.

Let me ask you a technical question, however. We have two kinds of media, audio and video. What use would radio stations make of coverage of a Senate floor debate? Do you think that they would use what George Will has just called "sound bites"? Would they be likely to use extended coverage, even gavel-to-gavel coverage? What would be your judgment?

Mr. GOODMAN. I think that would vary with the station, Senator. Some stations would use longer portions, some stations would use portions only in the news, but of course, the availability on television makes it available on sound at the same time, so it would be available to the thousands of radio stations in the United States for use as they see fit.

If I may go on from that to say, I believe George Will was wrong—perhaps, for all I know, for the first time—when he mentioned——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let's agree that it would be rare. [Laughter.]

Mr. GOODMAN. Fair enough—when he implied that the primary use of this coverage of the Senate on television would be what he calls "sound bites" on nightly news programs of 22 minutes in length. That would be a use, but certainly, not the sole use, and it is not much different from what we call "press bites"—that is, lifting of a sentence from the original text and using it in, for instance, a column. There are many other uses. This year, the MacNeil-Lehrer Report will go to 1 hour instead of its current half-hour, a nightly 1 hour of news on the current issues of the day, and I foresee, with the passage of this bill, a much greater use of recording of what has gone on during the day in the U.S. Senate, and I think the public will be well-served in having that happen.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the geographic distribution of these radio broadcasts? Could you identify an area or degree of saturation that might employ this kind of take?

Mr. GOODMAN. Well, first of all, the brief highlights of the important things that go on in the Senate would occur on the national news programs that are on during the day, and therefore, would reach all corners of the Nation. The longer, extended, gavel-to-gavel coverage of the Senate would be more rare. It would be limited, perhaps, to C-SPAN and other cable operators who would carry that, and I understand they will testify later.

I would not want to leave any of you with the impression that by appearing on the television that you will become instant "hits" on the Nielsen charts of America. Senator Long is quite correct when he indicates the limitations upon the number of people who will actually see this.

The CHAIRMAN. I think personally that he underestimates his own popular appeal.

Mr. GOODMAN. I think that is true, too. But what will happen is that this will be viewed as the House of Representatives is viewed now by those who have a serious interest in the proceedings of our Government. And by being available to many others, we hope it will stimulate an interest in more people—young people, people of all ages, who want to know more about what goes on in their Government.

I think there have been many mistakes made in our time by closing off freedom, Mr. Chairman. I think there have been no mistakes by allowing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I agree with that as a general principle.

Let me just ask you one final question, which reflects an exchange I had with Mr. Cronkite in, I do not like to say "managing" the news, but in "handling" the news. Does the present situation create any imbalance between coverage of the House of Representatives, which is fully covered, or any imbalance between the Senate floor itself and the Senate committees, which are fully covered?

Mr. GOODMAN. No. I think my views are the same as Mr. Cronkite's on that. The most important thing in choosing what goes on the news is the importance of the subject, what has occurred. That dictates the length of how the story goes on the air.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is important, you will find it out somehow.

Mr. GOODMAN. That is correct, and you report it somehow. It does not depend upon having a picture. So that is the first and most important principle.

However, the presence or the availability of the tape from the Senate would bring on further uses in other ways beyond that headline news.

The **CHAIRMAN**. It goes back to my conversation with George Will. It is not a question of whether you report it but whether you report it better.

Mr. **GOODMAN**. That is correct.

The **CHAIRMAN**. And you think it would be better reported?

Mr. **GOODMAN**. I think it would be better reported and the public could get a better understanding from seeing it reported in that manner.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Well, I appreciate very much your being with us today, Mr. Goodman, and your valuable statement.

Mr. **GOODMAN**. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Goodman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JULIAN GOODMAN, FORMER CHAIRMAN, NBC

My name is Julian Goodman, and I live in Larchmont, New York. I served NBC for 34 years in various capacities: newswriter, head of the Washington Bureau, Vice President of News, and President and Chairman of the Board. I left in 1979, and no longer have any connection with NBC or RCA, where I was a Director for six years. I do serve on the Board of Directors of The Gannett Co., Inc.; The Gulf Oil Corporation; and the Larchmont Federal Savings and Loan Association.

I support S. Res. 66, and hope the Senate will approve it swiftly. It will give the American people an opportunity to see for themselves that most important part of our legislative process they have never seen before: the debates, the speeches, the votes that take place on the floor of the Senate. I can understand the reluctance of those who do not wish to alter the traditions of the Senate, but I believe the benefits to the public far outweigh the limited risks of disturbing the orderly processes of the Senate. While I have spent much of my professional career in fervent support of the First Amendment to the Constitution, and the right of broadcast journalists to be covered by it, I do not make this plea on those grounds. I do not think that is the issue here. I simply believe there are great benefits that will accrue to the American People, without harm to the Senate. It seems not to be a question of whether to do it, but how to do it, and I feel the procedure called for in S. Res. 66 represents the best opportunity to accomplish that purpose.

The only rein on my enthusiasm lies in my respect for the opinions of those who oppose it, including those who appear before you today. Also I was born in Kentucky, and nobody ever leaves there completely, so I am not entirely comfortable in supporting so strongly anything that is opposed by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, Senator Ford. I also understand and sympathize with his concern about the cost. My own preference would have been a four-network pool to operate the system, but you are past that point now, and the projected costs do not seem out of line with the benefits to be derived. I do not think covering the Senate actions by radio alone to be an adequate compromise. The technology exists to add the important extra dimension of television, and not just because it exists, but because it has an important value to the public, I think it should be added.

Technology also makes it possible to minimize the intrusive aspects many fear with the advent of Senate television. Its mechanical aspects will hardly be noticed. Then the dangers of intrusion will lie only in its effect on the behavior of the members. Some fear there will be those seeking to dominate the floor with lengthy speeches and attention-getting tactics. I do not see that as a danger. I have great faith in the ability of the American people to judge what goes on, and the more they can see their legislative processes in action, the better judges they can become. It may be true that the bright, articulate, knowledgeable member of the Senate will benefit by appearing on television, but that's not all bad; and the quiet, careful and responsible member of the Senate who serves his constituents and his country well behind the scenes, and not necessarily as a television orator, will not be penalized. The people know who serves them well. I have greater faith in them than did H. L. Mencken.

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Along with other broadcast journalists in Washington, I worked closely with the late James C. Hagerty (who, I believe, was the best Press Secretary ever to serve in the White House) to film, for release on the same day, the first Presidential press conference ever to be used on television. That occurred January 19, 1955. The transition from that to live television press conferences by President Kennedy was easy and natural, and now it seems hard to remember that we ever had anything else.

There was opposition then on the same grounds we hear now: that some who wished to be stars would try to dominate the conference. I do not think that has happened, and the obvious benefits have far outweighed the problems. I know there are some who still feel twinges of nostalgia for the days when President Roosevelt could meet with the entire Washington press corps in his office; or for the days when President Hoover had no press conferences at all, and issued statements. But the public has gained much by seeing Presidential press conferences, and I think it will gain much by seeing the Senate in action.

My own efforts to try to cover the Senate for radio and television have left me with fond but frustrating experiences. One of the more dramatic Senate debates that occured during my younger days was the Senate passage of the Taft-Hartley Bill, which came only after Vice-President Barkley cast the deciding vote, following some memorable speeches. I recall thinking then what a great thing it would be if everybody could see what I was seeing; but I was left with the device of sending notes in to the principal participants on the Senate floor, asking them to step out to record a minute of reaction to the history that had just happened. I still have a handwritten note from Senator Robert A. Taft saying: "I don't do that sort of thing. R.A.T." That had a note of finality to it.

During the debate over the conduct of Senator Joseph McCarthy, David Brinkley conceived the idea of reverting to the very earliest of journalistic practices, and we sent a sketch artist to cover the Senate session. The artist was a talented and gentle man of mild demeanor, the late Leo Hershfield, and his sketches were a great success—until, one day, two uniformed guards ejected him, on orders of the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate. It had been ruled that the pencil sketches being made on a yellow legal pad by the inoffensive Mr. Hershfield constituted the taking of a picture, which was a violation of the rules of the Senate. With the passage of time, and of Sergeants At Arms, reason prevailed, and that sketching technique remains the only resource available to television for illustrating what happens on the floor of the Senate.

I really believe the public deserves to see it in real life, as it happens, on television. I urge the passage of S.Res. 66 to make that possible.

It is my fond hope that, when it happens, you will find it much like a child's first day at school—not nearly as bad as you feared, offering new hope for the future, and friends that will last a lifetime.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witnesses are Mr. Edward M. Allen, national chairman of C-SPAN, and Mr. John P. Frazee, Jr., a member of the board of C-SPAN.

Gentlemen, we appreciate your being with us.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD M. ALLEN, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, C-SPAN, AND PRESIDENT, WESTERN COMMUNICATIONS, WALNUT CREEK, CALIF.; AND JOHN P. FRAZEE, JR., GROUP VICE PRESIDENT-VIDEO SERVICES, CENTEL CORP., AND BOARD MEMBER, C-SPAN

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, I have a prepared text, and I will read portions of it, but I would ask that the full text be incorporated in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the full text will be included in the record, and you can summarize it as you see fit.

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you, sir.

My name is Edward M. Allen. I am president of Western Communications, Inc., which is a multiple-system cable television operator, headquartered in Walnut Creek, Calif.

Since May last year, it has been both my privilege and my pleasure to serve as the national chairman of the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network, better-known as "C-SPAN—America's Network."

During the last 11 months, I have had an opportunity to see up close and on a first-hand basis, the internal operations of C-SPAN and, more importantly, the broad public acceptance it enjoys among cable television subscribers. I think I may have found a second instance where Mr. Will might have been wrong. He said there is no public clamor for the televising of the Senate proceedings. I am sorry Mr. Will has left the room, because at 2 o'clock, Mr. Frazee and I are going back to the C-SPAN studios, and we are going to open up the telephones and permit the public to call in, on their own nickel and talk to us about this issue. I wanted to extend to Mr. Will an opportunity to join us, because I think he would find there is a public clamor for the televising of the Senate proceedings.

C-SPAN is the world's only 24-hour public affairs network. It is a creature of the cable television industry and is funded by the cable television industry. Broadcasting Magazine has denominated C-SPAN as "the Crown Jewel" of the industry, and it certainly lays to rest the allegation that television broadcasting in the United States is a vast wasteland.

With the inauguration of the C-SPAN programing four years ago, the cable television industry's promise of enlightened and diversified programing has now become a reality. The C-SPAN service is presently available to potentially some 13 million television homes in the United States and between 30 and 40 million people.

The original concept of C-SPAN was to provide a national satellite network vehicle for the delivery of gavel-to-gavel coverage, without editing, and without editorial comment, of the full proceedings of the United States House of Representatives. While this programing is still the linchpin of our service, over the four years of our operation this original concept has been expanded to include a great multiplicity of other programing including Committee hearings of both the House and Senate, Presidential/student press conferences, intimate work with the Close-Up Foundation and the high school students of the United States, National Press Club weekly luncheons, and most importantly to us, our three one-hour televised call-in shows each day, Monday through Friday, where our subscribers and your constituents can address remarks and concerns directly to elected and public service officials of our government.

In short, C-SPAN has now grown into a full-fledged public affairs network, and it is certainly the greatest single ongoing civics lesson available in the United States today.

The purpose of today's hearings on Senate Resolution 66 is to discuss the possible televising of the proceedings of the U.S. Senate. To my mind, as much as we appreciate the opportunity to televise the procedings of the House of Representatives, we are giving the citizens of the United States only half-a-loaf by not also presenting the U.S. Senate. And I think in terms of the issue of balance you raised, Mr. Chairman, while there is balance in terms of the network coverage, there is an imbalance in terms of the C-SPAN coverage.

I strongly urge the members of the Senate to permit the televising of their full proceedings and, more particularly, to permit distribution of the proceedings by way of C-SPAN, America's 24-hour public affairs network.

It is only natural, in any new endeavor, that there be some ingrained resistance to change. This was certainly the case with the decision to televise the proceedings of the House. Initial predictions and objections were that the proceedings would turn into a circus, that they would be exploited for individual personal advantage, that the members of the House would play to the cameras, and that it would lower the quality of the debate in the House. However, our experience over the last 4 years has demonstrated that none of these dire predictions have come to pass and now, even the original opponents to the concept of televising the House proceedings have come to the conclusion that this process has been beneficial to the order of the House, has added to the quality of the debate, and has been a valuable additional tool in creating a necessary informed electorate.

In that regard, Mr. Chairman, we have some material we would also like to insert into the record which is responsive to a request previously made by this committee.

We have recently conducted a survey by the Arbitron organization to try to determine the demographics of our viewership, and I can say that they are an informed electorate. To summarize that just very briefly, 2 days ago, there was some astonishment expressed at the fact that in Chicago they turned out an 88 percent vote. The C-SPAN viewer as a normal thing has an 83 percent votership record. C-SPAN viewers are 70 percent more likely to work for a political party than are the nonviewers. C-SPAN viewers are 63 percent more likely to contact a Congressman than are nonviewers. And, importantly to the members of the Congress, they are 79 percent more likely to contribute to a political candidate than are a nonviewer.

The CHAIRMAN. You are balancing out those results.

Mr. ALLEN. I am cognizant of the rules differences between the House and the Senate. I recognize that the Senate permits unlimited debate and that the Senators are accustomed to speaking from their desks rather than from the well, as is done in the House.

While I feel a majority of the members of the Senate would like to be on a par with the House in terms of creating these valuable new lines of communication with their constituents, I recognize the resistance to change which exists among some members of the Senate. Some of that testimony, we have heard today. And it is possible that, if the Senate permits the televising of its proceedings, there will be some changes in the present procedures which are, in some cases, traditions of some 200 years.

However, I think it is important that we not confuse tradition with habit. As Saint Augustine said, "Habit, if not resisted, becomes necessity." Admittedly, some members of the Senate will see an element of risk associated with any change from the status quo. However, a policy of being too cautious is probably the greatest risk of all. I firmly believe that a positive anything is better than a negative nothing.

It seems to me, then, the principal decision to be faced is whether these procedural changes can be made without doing violence to the truly substantive traditions of the Senate in return for using the most modern technology, as evidenced by the Chairman's opening remarks, to open up new and valuable lines of communication between the members of the Senate, their constituents, and the American public.

I am absolutely confident that workable procedures can be developed which will permit the orderly televising of the Senate procedures with the inherent benefits that will flow to the Senate from this better-informed electorate.

It has been said that a citizen of America will cross the ocean to fight for democracy, but he will not cross the street to vote in a national election. It does not have to be that way. Actually, voting is the least arduous of a citizen's duties. He has the prior and harder duty of making up his mind, and he is entitled to every possible tool available to him in this informational process.

There is also an old political saying that, "Anyone who enjoys both good law and good sausage should never watch either one being made." I do not subscribe to that philosophy. I am persuaded that if the American public has the opportunity to watch their laws being made, they will have a better understanding of not only the process involved but, more importantly, the depth of knowledge required of their elected officials in arriving at the laws which will affect their lives. It is a democratic process of which we should be proud and which deserves the light of day.

Some concern was expressed previously as to the cost of this venture to the Senate. From the research that I have done on it, it appears that the cost of installing the cameras would be in the range of $3 to $4 million, and the annual cost to present the programming would be in the range of $300,000 to $400,000. If we take the highest of those figures, the $4 million installation cost and the $400,000 operating cost, my little calculator yesterday taught me that in the first year, to reach the C-SPAN homes, it would cost 34 cents per home per year in the first year and 3 cents per home in the second year and subsequent years.

The Chairman. Just compare that to a dollar an issue for the Congressional Record.

Mr. ALLEN. I was comparing it with $28 million in constituent mailings.

The CHAIRMAN. Twenty-eight?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a modest estimate.

Mr. ALLEN. Maybe that is just the Senate side.

C-SPAN is ready to assist you. We have already contracted for the use of a second national satellite transponder on a 24-hour basis so we would be in a position to not only televise the proceedings of the Senate on a live basis, as they happen, but also during television's prime time hours on a delayed basis, so as to give the proceedings the widest possible national exposure.

I think the Senators, rather than hoping for 30 seconds on the evening news, would count on exposure throughout the prime time hours.

I can assure you, as is true in the case of the House of Representatives, that the light levels, camera positions, microphone positions, and everything else that goes into the technical process of televising the proceedings can be handled in such a way that there would be absolutely no disruption of the activities of the Senate.

Senator Stennis made some rather harsh comments about the decorum of the Senate. I can confidently predict that the decorum of the Senate will be improved, and based on our experience in the House, I would also predict that the quality of the debate would be elevated to a new high.

The CHAIRMAN. You will recall the words of Samuel Johnson, who said that "Nothing is so conducive to a good conscience as the suspicion that someone may be watching."

Mr. ALLEN. I will appreciate that, Mr. Chairman. I will use that line, if I may, next time.

The CHAIRMAN. It is all yours, with Samuel Johnson's compliments.

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you, sir.

The American people, I feel, are entitled, as a matter of right, to be privy to the deliberations of their elective bodies. While the members of the Senate do make a conscientious effort to inform their constituents through the print media and constituent mailings, these are, as you pointed out, techniques that have been used for the last 200 years, and they do not take proper advantage of the modern communications technologies which are available now.

While the major Eastern newspapers, the Washington Post and the New York Times, do an outstanding job of covering the activities of the Government, and while these newspapers are widely read in Washington, they do not enjoy great circulation throughout the heartland of America, with the resultant information vacuum to so much of the United States.

The Senate gallery, by virtue of its size, cannot accommodate all of the people who have an interest in the proceedings of the Senate. As Mr. Cronkite pointed out, the average citizen just cannot make himself available in Washington in order to be a spectator in that gallery.

I agree with Senator Baker. The televised proceedings are nothing but an extension of the gallery, showing the public what is normally seen from the gallery. They offer an unparalleled opportunity for the Senate to reach out to the American people and help create the informed electorate which is so essential to the effectiveness of your deliberations.

I would hope that this committee will recommend and then, subsequently, the Senate will adopt, Senate Resolution 66 so as to permit the deliberations of the Senate to be seen throughout the United States on an ever-expanding C-SPAN Public Affairs Network.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Allen.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Allen follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF EDWARD M. ALLEN, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, C-SPAN

My name is Edward M. Allen. I am the President of Western Communications, Inc. which is a multiple system cable television operator headquarterd in Walnut Creek, California.

Since May of last year, it has been both my privilege and pleasure to serve as the National Chairman of the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network—better known as "C-SPAN—America's Network". During the last eleven months, I have had an opportunity to see, up close and on a first-hand basis, the internal operations of C-SPAN and, more importantly, the broad public acceptance it enjoys among cable television subscribers.

C-SPAN, as the world's only 24-hour public affairs network, is a creature of the cable television industry and is funded by the cable television industry. Broadcasting magazine denominated C-SPAN as the "Crown Jewel" of the industry and it certainly serves to lay to rest the allegation that television broadcasting in the United States is a "vast wasteland". With the inauguration of the C/SPAN programming four years ago, the cable television industry's promise of enlightened and diversified programming has become a reality. The C-SPAN service is presently available to, potentially, some thirteen million television homes in the United States.

The original concept of C-SPAN was to provide a national satellite network vehicle for the delivery of gavel-to-gavel coverage, without editing or editorial comment, of the full proceedings of the United States House of Representatives. While this programming is still the linchpin of our service, over the four years of our operation this original concept has been expanded to include a great multiplicity of other programming including Committee hearings of both the House and Senate, Presidential/student press conferences, intimate work with the Close Up Foundation and the high school students of the United States, National Press Club weekly luncheons and, most importantly, three one-hour televised call-in shows each day, Monday through Friday, where the subscriber/constituent can address his remarks and concerns directly to elected and public service officials of our government. In short, C-SPAN has now grown into a full-fledged public affairs network and is certainly the greatest single and ongoing civics lesson available to the people of the United States today.

The purpose of today's hearings on Senate Resolution 66 is to discuss the possible televising of the proceedings of the United States Senate. To my mind, as much as we appreciate the opportunity to televise the proceedings of the House of Representatives, we are giving the citizens of the United States only half a loaf by not also presenting the proceedings of the United States Senate, and I strongly urge the members of the Senate to permit the televising of their full proceedings and, more particularly, to permit distribution of their proceedings by way of C-SPAN, America's 24-hour public affairs network.

It is only natural, in any new endeavor, that there be some ingrained resistance to change. This was certainly the case with the decision to televise the proceedings of the House. Initial predictions and objections were that the proceedings would turn into a circus, that they would be exploited for individual personal advantage, that the members of the House would "play to the cameras" and that it would lower the quality of the debate in the House. However, our experience over the last four years has demonstrated that none of these dire predictions has come to pass and even the original opponents to the concept of televising the House proceedings have now come to the conclusion that this process has been beneficial to the order of the House, has added to the quality of the debate and has been a valuable additional tool in creating a necessary informed electorate.

I am cognizant of the rules differences between the House and the Senate. I recognize that the Senate permits unlimited debate and that the Senators are accustomed to speaking from their desks rather than from the Well of the Senate. While I feel a majority of the members of the Senate would like to be on a par with the House in terms of creating valuable new lines of communication with their constituents, I recognize the resistance to change which exists among some members of the Senate. It is probable that, if the Senate permits the televising of its proceedings, there will have to be some changes in some of the present procedures which are, in some cases, traditions of some two hundred years.

However, I think it is important that we not confuse tradition with habit. As St. Augustine once said, "Habit, if not resisted, soon becomes necessity". Admittedly, some members of the Senate will see an element of risk associated with any change from the status quo. However, a policy of being too cautious is probably the greatest risk of all. I firmly believe that a positive anything is better than a negative nothing. An old Chinese proverb states "A gem cannot be polished without friction, nor man perfected without trials".

It seems to me, then, that the principal decision to be faced is whether these procedural changes can be made without doing violence to the truly substantive traditions of the Senate in return for using the most modern technology to open up new and valuable lines of communication between the members of the Senate, their constituents and the American public. I am absolutely confident that workable procedures can be developed which will permit the orderly televising of the Senate procedures with the inherent benefits that will flow to the Senate from a better informed electorate.

It has been said that a citizen of America will cross the ocean to fight for democracy, but won't cross the street to vote in a national election. It doesn't have to be that way. Actually, voting is the least arduous of a citizen's duties. He has the prior and harder duty of making up his mind and he is entitled to every possible tool available to him in this informational process.

There is also an old political saying that "Anyone who enjoys both good law and good sausage should never watch either one being made". I do not subscribe to that philosophy. I am persuaded that if the American public has the opportunity to watch their laws being made, they will have a better understanding of not only the process involved but, more importantly, the depth of knowledge required of their elected officials in arriving at the laws which will affect their lives. It is a democratic process of which we should be proud and which deserves the light of day.

C-SPAN is ready to assist you. We have already contracted for the use of second national satellite transponder on a 24-hour basis so we would be in a position to not only televise the proceedings of the Senate on a live basis, as they happen, but also during television's prime time hours, on a delayed basis, so as to give the proceedings the widest possible national exposure. I can assure you, as is the case in the House of Representatives, that the light levels, camera positions, microphone positions and everything else that goes into the technical process of televising the proceedings can be handled in such a way that there would be absolutely no disruption of the activities of the Senate. I can confidently predict that the decorum of the Senate will be maintained and, based on our experience in the House, I would also predict that the quality of the debate will be elevated to a new high.

The American people are entitled, as a matter of right, to be privy to the deliberations of their elective bodies. We do not live in a secret society. While the members of the Senate make a conscientious effort to inform their constituents through the print media and constituent mailings, these are the techniques employed some two hundred years ago and do not take proper advantage of the modern communications technologies which are available. While the major Eastern newspapers, such as the Washington Post and the New York Times do an outstanding job of covering the activities of the government, and while these newspapers are widely read in Washington, they do not enjoy great circulation throughout the heartland of America with a resultant information vacuum to so much of the United States.

The Senate Gallery, by virture of its size, cannot accommodate all of the people who have an interest in the proceedings of the Senate. More importantly, the average citizen cannot make himself available in Washington in order to be a spectator in the Gallery. As the televised proceedings are nothing but an extention of the Gallery, showing the public what is normally seen from the Gallery, they offer an unparalleled opportunity for the Senate to reach out to the American people and help create the informed electorate which is so essential to the effectiveness of our deliberations.

I would hope that this Committee will recommend and then, subsequently, the Senate will adopt Senate Resolution 66 so as to permit the deliberations of the

Senate to be seen throughout the United States on the ever-expanding C–SPAN Public Affairs Network.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit several pertinent articles and news releases for the record. You may be particularly interested in the results of a just-completed survey of C–SPAN's viewing audience. It contains the kind of information this committee requested of C–SPAN when we testified last year on this same subject. The survey, which was only recently released to the cable television industry, was conducted by the Arbitron Ratings Company. Arbitron presented a series of questions by telephone to 781 respondents in 10 communities across the country. Here are some of the results:

First, C–SPAN viewers demonstrate high levels of political interest:

83.3 of C–SPAN viewers said they voted in the 1980 elections.

C–SPAN viewers are 70 percent more likely to work for a political party than are non-viewers.

C–SPAN viewers contact their congressmen. They are 63 percent more likely to do so than non-viewers surveyed.

38.8 percent of the C–SPAN viewers surveyed attend public meetings.

C–SPAN viewers are more than twice as likely to attend political rallies. More than one quarter of the viewers surveyed do so, compared with 12.5 percent on non-viewers.

C–SPAN viewers are 40 percent more likely than their non-viewing counterparts to sign a political petition.

When asked to contribute to political candidates, C–SPAN are 79 percent more likly to do so than their non-viewing counterparts.

Second, C–SPAN viewers have high public awareness.

96.6 percent of the C–SPAN viewers surveyed read daily newspapers.

C–SPAN viewers are 56 percent more likely to read news magazines and 65 percent more likely to read business magazines than non-viewers.

While nearly as many viewers as non-viewers described themselves as having "some college," C–SPAN viewers are 54 percent more likely to be college graduates, and 87 percent more likely to have attended graduate school.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to draw your attention to a chart (attached) that tends to discount one of the common fears of televising legislative sessions. As you know, when the House of Representatives was debating whether to install television cameras, many predicted that it would be forced to stay in session much longer as members sought national television exposure on the House floor. The opposite has been true. Since television came to the House in 1979, it has been in session for generally shorter periods.

This concludes my statement, Mr. Chairman. Thank you and the committee for your time.

HOURS AND DAYS IN SESSION—SENATE AND HOUSE [1]

Year	Congress	Body	Days	Hours	Daily average	Total hours
1975	94/1st	Senate	178	1,177	6.6	1,177
1975	94/1st	House	173	941	5.4	941
1976	94/1st	Senate	142	1,033	7.2	2,210
1976	94/1st	House	138	846	6.1	1,787
1977	95/1st	Senate	178	1,143	6.4	3,353
1977	95/1st	House	174	881	5.0	2,668
1978	95/1st	Senate	159	1,366	8.6	4,719
1978	95/1st	House	149	1,015	6.8	3,683
1979	96/1st	Senate	167	1,159	6.9	5,878
1979	96/1st	House[2]	173	974	5.6	4,657
1980	96/2nd	Senate	166	1,165	7.0	7,043
1980	96/2nd	House	153	901	5.9	5,558
1981	97/1st	Senate	165	1,079	6.5	8,122
1981	97/1st	House	161	653	4.1	6,211
1982	97/2nd	Senate	147	1,079	7.3	9,201
1982	97/2nd	House	140	767	5.5	6,978

[1] Days and hours compiled by House Congressional Digest Office, Clerk of the House.

[2] House began televising sessions.

The **Chairman**. Mr. Frazee.

Mr. **Frazee**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Jack Frazee, and I am very happy to be here representing C-SPAN, as a member of its board. I am also here as group vice president of the Centel Corp. Centel's Video Services Group currently includes Centel Cable Television; Centel Videopath, which is a microwave interconnect network; and Comco Electronics, which is a satellite master antenna television operation. We are also involved with teletext and videotext services through a joint venture called Keycom Electronic Publishing, for which I serve as chairman of the board.

In both 1981 and 1982, C-SPAN strongly endorsed the televising of Senate floor proceedings. Today, I repeat that. C-SPAN is strongly in favor of full, gavel-to-gavel televising of Senate proceedings under appropriate safeguards.

For the record, Centel ranks among the top 31 cable television MSO's—those are cable television companies with multiple system operations—and I would like to make a few remarks today as a cable operator, one who interacts with our customers and subscribers every day and who gets a sense of the feel for the public for this kind of television.

We serve more than 155,000 customers in seven States: Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Texas, and Florida. Many of our companies have been carrying the C-SPAN channel since its inception.

We are committed to C-SPAN, and we have translated that commitment into action by adapting its systems to offer wide subscriber exposure to the C-SPAN network and its quality programing.

We also believe that our cable systems are very unique in that all of our cable systems across the country—and that is every one of our systems, whether they are urban or rural, whether they have many channels or very few channels—will carry C-SPAN to its subscribers by the end of this month. This commitment means that more than 100,000 additional subscribers of our cable systems will have access to C-SPAN, as well as the 55,000 we have been carrying for quite some time.

To accomplish this goal of 100-percent subscriber coverage, we have made additional investments of $160,000 this year alone, and for a business which is already very capital-intensive, this represents a significant investment in additional resources.

All in all, then, it should not surprise you, Mr. Chairman, that we are strongly in favor of expanding to the Senate the objective of unedited coverage of C-SPAN for legislative activities in the Senate as well as the House.

The American system as a democratic system is based in part upon the belief that citizens can and should be well-informed on political matters and participate in their resolution. By definition, we think this process is strengthened, as citizens become better informed on the issues that affect them. When citizens are better informed, our marketplace of ideas offers better intellectual and legislative products. Our society benefits as a result.

Centel's own experience with C-SPAN's coverage of the House of Representatives illustrates some of the myths and realities involved in televising legislative proceedings that have been discussed already this morning.

First of all, even though Centel's cable subscribers generally do not see C-SPAN's present coverage of the House as a competitive threat to "Dallas" or "Monday Night Football," we know that C-SPAN's legislative coverage is watched by many of our customers. It is also not factual to say that people are not interested in live coverage of the Senate. People are interested. They tell us in telephone calls, in letters, both to our company and the various cable television companies across the United States, as well as in our call-in shows to C-SPAN that we have daily.

High ratings should not be necessary to justify carrying a program. Our subscribers recognize the value of C-SPAN's legislative coverage, and when this programing is provided to a loyal core of viewers, perhaps, though they are small, we believe we are fulfilling our mission.

Cable television is one of the few delivery systems in the country today that can carry programing without regard to viewer polls or viewer ratings. We think this is important.

Second, the recently completed survey by Arbitron that Mr. Allen mentioned indicates that it is the opinion leaders and the decisionmakers in our local communities that tend to be the most enthusiastic watchers of C-SPAN. Those, then, who participate in the political process are utilizing it right now as a resource.

Third, we believe that when Centel subscribers become more aware of a particular issue being addressed in Congress that interests them, they make an effort to stay abreast of that action through all available means. We believe they will watch C-SPAN more during that time the issue is being considered.

Lastly, not only is the cable television industry capable of diverse programing, but it is also genuinely desirous to maximize that diversity with quality programing. Frankly, the Senate qualifies on many counts. As a great deliberative body, it offers a news program that is incapable of duplication. As knowledgeable advocates, it presents an educational program that is like no other educational program. And, as a group of public figures whose faces and names are known to the American public, its actions as a group provide an intimacy and a personal impact that is now lost when clips of Congress are edited and spliced to fit the constraints of commercial television.

In short, C-SPAN is a haven for viewers who want to see and understand events for themselves, instead of having events interpreted for them by others. There is no other, widely available alternative today for those viewers except through C-SPAN.

Centel is determined to make that alternative available because it is important to us, not just to give lip service about public service, but to follow through with a public service commitment.

We would note that even those who have expressed concern about the impact of television on the Senate's way of life recognize the impeccable credibility that would be available from a complete and unedited television record. They also recognize the historical value of accurate Senate videotapes. Above all, they recognize that some day television will be an integral part of the several means by which the American people are able to learn what is going on in the Senate Chamber. We hope that day is about to arrive.

On behalf of C-SPAN, and on behalf of the Centel Corp. and its cable companies, I want to offer my support for the adoption of Senate Resolution No. 66. We have outlined the depth of the commitment at C-SPAN and among all of Centel's cable companies, and we ask you to make a similar commitment. Our institutions must always grow and evolve to stay abreast of the changing times. We respectfully suggest to you that the televising of Senate activity would be a productive and visionary move, one more dramatic step toward exemplifying to the world what a truly open democracy can achieve.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Frazee.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Frazee follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN P. FRAZEE, JR., GROUP VICE PRESIDENT, VIDEO SERIVCES, CENTEL CORP.

Good morning. My name is John P. Frazee, Jr. I am happy to have the opportunity to address you today. I am here to testify on behalf of C-SPAN, the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network, as a member of its board.

I am also here as Group Vice President—Video Services of Centel Corporation. Centel's Video Services group currently includes Centel Cable Television, Centel Videopath, a microwave interconnect network, and Comco Electronics, a satellite master antenna television operation. Centel is also involved with new teletext and videotext services through a joint venture called Keycom, for which I serve as chairman of the board.

In 1981, the chairman of the board of C-SPAN appeared before you to tell you that the C-SPAN board of directors, representing a majority of the cable systems in this country, strongly endorsed the televising of Senate floor proceedings. Today, I repeat that. C-SPAN is strongly in favor of full, gavel-to-gavel televising of Senate proceedings under appropriate safeguards.

C-SPAN represents a cooperative network of cable television systems which provides public affairs coverage of government activities via satellite. It was founded in 1977, and is a nonprofit (but taxpaying) private company registered here in the District of Columbia. Since House coverage began in 1979, our cable affiliates have tripled, and now number more than 1,000. C-SPAN now reaches more than 13 million homes, or about 40 million citizens.

When C-SPAN coverage began, it carried only House floor debates. It has been broadened to include noteworthy speeches, governmental conferences, significant hearings, and other such activities of value to the public. C-SPAN initiated direct coverage of the political campaign process in 1980 and has a popular call-in series where current issues are discussed with members of the Senate and the House. A number of the members of this panel probably have appeared on this series. C-SPAN doesn't discriminate, even by age. Children and teenagers use C-SPAN widely, and we utilize their energy and enthusiasm in the preparation of our programs. Through a weekly call-in show, sponsored by the Close-up Foundation, C-SPAN encourages talented junior and senior high school students to discuss political developments. President Reagan has already appeared twice on the program to talk with these students.

As I noted, I am also here as the Group Vice President—Video Services at Centel Corporation. Centel is a diversified telecommunications company based in Chicago. For the record, Centel Cable ranks among the top thirty-five cable television MSO's (multiple system operators) in the nation, and we serve more than 155,000 subscribers in seven states—Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Texas and Florida. Our newest venture, Centel Videopath, is a regional microwave network that provides video switching and interconnects participating cable television systems in the Chicago region. Centel also operates the nation's fourth largest independent telephone system.

C-SPAN is currently the primary carrier of the televised signal of House proceedings. As I noted above, many of the nation's cable systems now carry C-SPAN. Many of our own Centel Cable companies have been carrying the C-SPAN channel since its inception.

Centel is committed to C-SPAN, and has translated that into action by adapting its systems to offer wide subscriber exposure to the C-SPAN network and its quality programming.

Centel believes its own cable systems are unique among all of the cable systems across the entire United States, in that every one of our systems—whether urban or rural with few channels or many channels—is now or will shortly carry the C-SPAN signal to its subscribers. C-SPAN will be available on our lower-priced basic service.

Our commitment means that 100,000 additional subscribers on Centel systems will have access to C-SPAN, in addition to the 55,000 who already can view it. To accomplish this goal of 100% subscriber coverage, Centel made additional investments of $160,000 this year alone, and will pay $30,000 more in license fees per year, a figure based on the number of subscribers we have. For a business which is already very capital intensive, this represents a significant investment in additional resources. It is especially true when one considers the opportunity costs that are involved when systems with few channels forego the addition of a potentially more lucrative pay entertainment channel. Centel has a number of limited channel systems, and we haven't even tried to calculate our lost opportunity costs.

However, altruism aside, we know that providing C-SPAN can help us as a cable company. Through our program guide and newspaper advertising, we can increasingly show that Centel Cable provides varied and valuable television viewing.

All in all, then, it shouldn't surprise you that we are strongly in favor of expanding to the Senate the objective, broad coverage now provided by C-SPAN for legislative activities in the House.

The American system, as a democratic system, is based in part upon the belief that citizens can and should be well-informed on political matters and participate in their resolution. By definition, the process is strengthened as citizens become better informed on the issues that affect them. When citizens are better informed, our "marketplace of ideas" offers better intellectual and legislative products. Our society benefits as a result.

One of the ways in which the average citizen can become better informed is through objective coverage of the legislative process itself. That coverage now is provided through, among others, C-SPAN. Coverage of the House of Representatives has existed since March, 1979. The American public can only profit from similar coverage of the day-to-day activities of the U.S. Senate, with appropriate conditions to ensure that the opportunities promised by gavel-to-gavel coverage are not exploited or abused.

Centel's own experience with C-SPAN's coverage of the House of Representatives illustrates some of the myths and realities involved in televising legislative proceedings.

First of all, even though Centel's cable subscribers generally do not see C-SPAN's present coverage of the House as a competitive threat to "Dallas" or "Monday Night Football," we believe C-SPAN's legislative coverage is watched by many of our customers. It is not true to say people aren't interested in live coverage of the Senate. People are interested. High ratings are not necessary to justify carrying a program. Our subscribers recognize the value of C-SPAN's legislative coverage. And when this programming is provided to a loyal core of viewers, even though small, we believe we are fulfilling our mission.

Second and more significantly, the recently completed Arbitron survey of C-SPAN viewership indicates that it is the opinion leaders and the decisionmakers in our local communities that tend to be the most enthusiastic watchers of C-SPAN. Those who participate in the political process utilize C-SPAN as a resource.

Third, we believe that when Centel subscribers become aware of a particular issue being addressed in Congress that interests them, they make an effort to stay abreast of the action through all available means. We believe they will watch C-SPAN more during the time the issue is being considered. The available data on the Panama Canal hearings supports that conclusion. (Here in Washington, many Congressional staffers and other interested persons on and off the Hill were able to follow floor action in the House during last December's lame duck session only because of C-SPAN coverage.)

Fourth, we expect that the average viewer may have no interest in watching you conduct routine business just as he or she has no interest in watching me conduct routine business. However, we believe that C-SPAN viewership would exhibit a marked increase and the democratic process would gain the most at those times when, as Senator Pell of this Committee has called them, the "great issues" are the subject of Senate deliberation. In our view, C-SPAN would be the ideal way to help educate the American public on the many different aspects of these "great issues" and the difficult balancing of interests that must always be undertaken before they are resolved. As the American public increasingly sees just how difficult these decisions are, their own sophistication on these issues will grow.

In addition, televising this open debate could set an example to the public in other countries. The C-SPAN signal can be available internationally. Just as citizens of other countries watch entertainment and other events televised from the U.S. quite regularly, they could be expected to view C-SPAN as well. We believe this would outline the many benefits of our way of life in a way that foreign aid and other assistance cannot duplicate.

Lastly, not only is the cable television community capable of diverse programming, but also it genuinely desires to maximize that diversity with quality programming. Frankly, you qualify on many counts. As a great deliberative body, you offer a news program that is incapable of duplication. As knowledgeable advocates, you present an educational program that is like no other educational program. And as a group of public figures whose faces and names are known to the American public, your actions as a group provide an intimacy and a personal impact that now is lost when clips of Congress are edited and spliced to fit the constraints of commercial television.

In short, C-SPAN is a haven for viewers who want to see and understand events for themselves, instead of having events interpreted for them by others. There is no other widely available alternative today for those viewers except through C-SPAN. Centel is determined to make that alternative available because it is important to us, not just talk about public service, but to follow through with a public service commitment.

Last year, your Committee indicated that it didn't see any significant legal or technological problems that couldn't be avoided in expanding Congressional television coverage to the Senate. We agree. We also believe that any problems requiring potential modifications to Senate rules can also be avoided. The April 5 report of the Pearson-Ribicoff Study Group (which has recommended televising of Senate proceedings, at least on major issues) can be reviewed by the Senate well within the time it would probably take to schedule and complete any construction of necessary television facilities.

This leaves two final issues that were raised last year by you: on one hand, cost, and on the other, the possible intangible effects that television might have on the unique character and role of the Senate.

We know you are best qualified to discuss the first issue, your own costs. We are all aware that the House has determined that the benefits to it outweigh its costs.

On the second item, we would note that even those who have expressed concern about the impact of television on the Senate's way of life recognize the impeccable credibility that would be available from a complete and unedited television record. They also recognize the historical value of accurate Senate video tapes. Above all, they recognize that "some day television will be an integral part of the several means by which the American people are able to learn what is going on in the Senate chamber." We hope that day is about to arrive.

As your Committee has noted, the public gallery of the Senate has been open since 1794. We believe that it is in the national interest to expand that gallery. A new audience can benefit from access to your deliberations. However, they can ultimately benefit only from the adoption of guidelines such as those contained in S. Res. 66.

On behalf of C-SPAN and on behalf of Centel and its cable companies, I want to offer my support for the adoption of S. Res. 66. We have outlined the depth of the commitment at C-SPAN and at Centel, and we ask you to make a similar commitment.

Our institutions must always grow and evolve to stay abreast of the changing times. We respectfully suggest to you that the televising of Senate activity would be a productive and visionary move—one more dramatic step toward exemplifying to the world what a truly open democracy can achieve.

CENTEL'S COMMITMENT TO C-SPAN

Centel is bringing C-SPAN to more than 100,000 new cable subscribers. Previously, only 54,000 subscribers had access to C-SPAN's programming. Now all 54,000 Centel subscribers have C-SPAN on their basic cable service.

Centel subscribers are located in seven states: Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, and Texas. C-SPAN is being introduced in Indiana, Kentucky and downstate Illinois systems. In Florida, Michigan, Ohio, Texas and parts of up-state Illinois, C-SPAN has been moved to the programming level all subscribers take—

basic service. In all Illinois systems built in the last year, C-SPAN has always started on basic service.

Centel is investing 158,000 in new head-end equipment in order to meet its 100 percent commitment to C-SPAN. Additionally, by providing C-SPAN to all its subscribers, Centel will increase its payment in license fees by $27,000 for a total of $41,000 a year.

In five systems, Centel switched out satellite networks to expanded basic programming levels in order to put C-SPAN on the basic level. In four cases, networks or other programming services were completely dropped to introduce C-SPAN.

CENTEL'S COMMITMENT TO C-SPAN

A STATISTICAL SUMMARY

SYSTEM	LICENSE FEE		ADDITIONAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT	EXISTING SUBSCRIBERS ADDED		
	MONTH	YEAR		(2/28/83)	(APRIL)	TOTAL
Florida	255.00	3,060.00		5,643	6,446	12,089
Illinois	1,073.00	12,876.00	33,100.00	28,021	18,877	46,898
Indiana	140.00	1,680.00	Inc. w/ KY		4,639	4,639
Kentucky	1,094.00	13,128.00	110,000.00		36,489	36,489
Michigan	18.00	216.00		603	9,876	10,479
Ohio	476.00	5,712.00		15,866	15,345	31,211
Texas	353.00	4,236.00		3,736	7,971	11,707
Comco	16.00	192.00	14,800.00		547	547
Total	3,425.00	41,000.00	157,900.00	53,869	100,190	

Total C-Span Subs: 154,059

CENTEL'S COMMITMENT TO C-SPAN

A STATE BY STATE OVERVIEW

SYSTEM	LICENSE FEE MONTH	LICENSE FEE YEAR	ADDITIONAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT	SUBSCRIBERS EXISTING (2/28/83)	SUBSCRIBERS ADDED (APRIL)	CABLE CHANNEL
Florida:						
Hernando	110.00	1,320.00		901	2,771	33
Mulberry	26.00	312.00		862	802	12
Palm Beach	4.00	48.00		122		25
Polk	115.00	1,380.00		3,758	2,873	12
Total	255.00	3,060.00		5,643	6,446	
			Total Subs:	12,089		
Illinois:						
Addison	114.00	1,368.00		3,807		31
Aurora	133.00	1,596.00		4,426	9,571	8
Barrington	31.00	372.00		1,047		31
Cerro Gordo	10.00	120.00	3,500		330	13
Clinton	74.00	888.00		2,452		10
Elgin	187.00	2,244.00		6,228	1,537	13
Fairbury	79.00	948.00	3,500		2,636	13
Farmer City	15.00	180.00	4,300		501	4
Gibson City	35.00	420.00	4,200		1,160	13
Lake County	9.00	108.00		304		31
Lake Zurich	56.00	672.00		1,871		31
LeRoy	21.00	252.00	4,200		713	13
Monticello/Bement	50.00	600.00	6,700		1,661	13
Rantoul	97.00	1,164.00		3,240		4
Sandwich	45.00	540.00		1,490		17
Thomasboro	10.00	120.00		334		17
Tolono/Pesotum	23.00	276.00	6,700		768	13
Vernon Hills	64.00	768.00		2,140		31
Western Springs	5.00	60.00		173		39
Winfield	15.00	180.00		509		21
Total	1,073.00	12,876.00	3,100.00	28,021	18,877	
			Total Subs:	46,898		

SYSTEM	LICENSE FEE MONTH	LICENSE FEE YEAR	ADDITIONAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT	SUBSCRIBERS EXISTING (2/28/83)	SUBSCRIBERS ADDED (APRIL)	CABLE CHANNEL
Indiana:						
Hanover	17.00	204.00			558	6
Madison	110.00	1,320.00			3,662	3
Vevay	13.00	156.00			419	8
Total	140.00	1,680.00	Incl, w/KY		4,639	
			Total Subs:	4,639		
Kentucky:						
Berea	67.00	804.00			2,226	9
Camargo	6.00	72.00			209	5
Carlisle	16.00	192.00			534	6
Carrolton	50.00	600.00			1,675	4
Clay City	20.00	240.00			672	9
E. Bernstadt	46.00	552.00			1,542	6
Georgetown	72.00	864.00			2,409	6
Jeffersonville	7.00	84.00			217	5
Keavy	21.00	252.00			707	6
Lebanon	55.00	660.00			1,830	5
London	90.00	1,080.00			3,012	6
Midway	9.00	108.00			295	9
Millersburg	7.00	84.00			220	3
Morehead	102.00	1,224.00			3,410	6
Mt. Sterling	92.00	1,104.00			3,056	12
Nicholsville	71.00	852.00			2,373	9
N. Middletown	4.00	48.00			142	11
Olive Hill	29.00	348.00			966	2
Owingsville	11.00	132.00			382	5
Paris	83.00	996.00			2,774	6
Richmond	125.00	1,500.00			4,155	6
Springfield	15.00	180.00			493	8
Versailles	76.00	912.00			2,537	10
Warsaw	8.00	96.00			264	18
Wilmore	12.00	144.00			389	9
Total	1,094.00	13,128.00	110,000.00		36,489	
			Total Subs:	36,489		
Michigan:						
Traverse City	18.00	216.00		603	9,876	tba
Total	18.00	216.00		603	9,876	

SYSTEM	LICENSE FEE MONTH	LICENSE FEE YEAR	ADDITIONAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT	SUBSCRIBERS EXISTING (2/28/83)	SUBSCRIBERS ADDED (APRIL)	CABLE CHANNEL
Ohio:						
Lima/Elida	185.00	2,220.00		6,170	15,345	3 and 18
Troy	155.00	1,860.00		5,168		32
London	75.00	900.00		2,496		32
Marysville	61.00	732.00		2,032		
Total	476.00	5,712.00		15,866	15,345	
			Total Subs:	31,211		
Texas:						
Harris County	353.00	4,236.00		3,736	7,971	9
Total	353.00	4,236.00		3,736	7,971	
			Total Subs:	11,707		
Comco						
Total	16.00	192.00	14,800		547	
			Total Subs:	547		
Consolidated:						
Total	3,425.00	41,100.00	157,900	53,869	100,190	

CENTEL CORPORATION,
O'HARE PLAZA,
Chicago, Ill., April 28, 1983.

Hon. **WENDELL FORD,**
U.S. Senator, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FORD: First of all, I would like to thank you and the Senate Committee on Rules very much for allowing me to testify on behalf of C-SPAN and Centel regarding the issue of television in the Senate. I consider it an honor to have a chance to participate in the deliberative process that makes this country great.

There are a couple points that I would like to make with you and the committee, however, relating to your testimony on April 15 that I believe need clarification. You stated, in a colloquy with Senator Mattingly, that although you did not stay to hear all the testimony on Thursday, April 14, it was your understanding that C-SPAN would basically have just one channel on which they would have both the House and Senate. You suggested further, that it would have to be a decision between the House and Senate as to who would get on in prime time, with a possibility of a fight between the House and Senate as to who would be on prime time, and would be taped and carried later. I do not believe these comments are completely accurate. With your indulgence, I would appreciate this opportunity to set the record straight, so that what C-SPAN is prepared to do in the event the Senate adopts television is not misinterpreted by those reading your testimony.

In Ed Allen's testimony on April 14, he said, and I quote: ". . . C-SPAN is ready to assist you. We have already contracted for the use of a second national satellite transponder on a 24-hour basis so we would be in a position to not only televise the proceedings of the Senate on a live basis, but also during television's prime time hours on a delayed basis, so as to give the proceedings the widest possible national exposure. I think the Senators, rather than hoping for 30 seconds on the evening news, would count on exposure throughout the prime time hours."

We are expecting to be operational on this new, second transponder by early fall. From all indications, based on the estimated technical start-up time for Senate television, we could be in a position to take our first airing live. Even if the Senate went with television before our second transponder, assure you the Senate would get equal billing with the House and without a fight.

On the question concerning the Senate being taped and carried later, Mr. Allen was suggesting that not only would we carry the Senate live, we would also repeat the Senate's session later that evening, on tape, in our prime time hours. I think it is important to emphasize this. Not only would the Senate be seen live, but, as we now do with the House, its proceedings would be repeated for different audiences and often more than once at different days, such as weekends and holidays when Congress is usually not in session. Very respectfully, Senator, I hope this clarifies C-SPAN's position with respect to what it is prepared to do for the Senate.

Relating to your comments that in Kentucky, cable viewers had to pay a very high price in order to get C-SPAN, I would like to call attention to Centel Cable Television of Kentucky's carriage of C-SPAN in your home state. We serve almost 40,000 customers in over 25 communities, and in every case, C-SPAN is part of our subscriber's basic cable television programming line-up. The average monthly rate of basic service in Kentucky is $8.65. I would like to point out additionally, Senator, that the majority of these systems are 12 channel systems, which points out my company's commitment to public affairs programming of this type. I am enclosing for your information a copy of the communities that Centel serves and the capital investment we have made to insure this type of carriage of C-SPAN. More and more cable television companies in the United States are moving the C-SPAN channel to the basic tier of programming.

I would like to thank you again for allowing my comments, and even though I certainly respect your position in this matter, I urge you to keep an open mind when this issue finally comes to a vote.

Sincerely,

JOHN P. FRAZEE, JR.,
Group Vice President.

Enclosure.

CENTEL'S COMMITMENT TO C-SPAN

A STATE BY STATE OVERVIEW

SYSTEM	LICENSE FEE MONTH	LICENSE FEE YEAR	ADDITIONAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT	SUBSCRIBERS EXISTING (2/28/83)	SUBSCRIBERS ADDED (APRIL)	CABLE CHANNEL
Florida:						
Hernando	110.00	1,320.00		901	2,771	33
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Total	255.00	3,060.00		5,643	6,446	
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Aurora	133.00	1,596.00		4,426	9,571	8
Barrington	31.00	372.00		1,047		31
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Elgin	187.00	2,244.00		6,228	1,537	13
Fairbury	79.00	948.00	3,500		2,636	13
Farmer City	15.00	180.00	4,300		501	4
Gibson City	35.00	420.00	4,200		1,160	13
Lake County	9.00	108.00		304		31
Lake Zurich	56.00	672.00		1,871		31
LeRoy	21.00	252.00	4,200		713	13
Monticello/Bement	50.00	600.00	6,700		1,661	13
Rantoul	97.00	1,164.00		3,240		4
Sandwich	45.00	540.00		1,490		17
Thomasboro	10.00	120.00		334		17
Tolono/Pesotum	23.00	276.00	6,700		768	13
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	MONTH	YEAR		EXISTING (2/28/83)	ADDED (APRIL)	
Ohio:						
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Troy	155.00	1,860.00		5,168		32
London	75.00	900.00		2,496		32
Marysville	61.00	732.00		2,032		
Total	476.00	5,712.00		15,866	15,345	
			Total Subs:	31,211		
Texas:						
Harris County	353.00	4,236.00		3,736	7,971	9
Total	353.00	4,236.00		3,736	7,971	
			Total Subs:	11,707		
Comco						
Total	16.00	192.00	14,800		547	
			Total Subs:	547		
Consolidated:						
Total	3,425.00	41,100.00	157,900	53,869	100,190	

The **Chairman**. Let me first of all just confirm what both of you have said about C-SPAN, because I have had an opportunity to appear on C-SPAN and to have that kind of dialog with people from all parts of the country, which is truly extraordinary. It is a very stimulating experience, and one that has to, I think, sharpen one's own awareness of what people are thinking around the country and also, in a large measure, stimulate one's sense of responsibility, because these people are looking to Washington for information, for judgments, and C-SPAN has provided a means by which these thoughts and feelings can be transmitted in a very human way. It is an extraordinary service.

Let me ask you this question, though, and it is a mechanical kind of question. How would you choose between the House and the Senate if both were in session at the same time?

Mr. **Allen**. With the advent of our second transponder, Senator, we have the opportunity to carry both houses, full-time, live and delayed. I would not envision that one channel would be a Senate channel and one channel would be a House channel. I think what we would do each day on both channels is televise the House and the Senate and alternate the positions during the day. There might be some question as to whether one house might prefer live time to make the evening news or would prefer the prime time hours in order to get the bigger exposure. But that would be an editorial call that would be made by C-SPAN.

The **Chairman**. Well, I think that is an extraordinary option. Then you lay the decision on the shoulders of the American people as to which part of the dial they are going to turn to.

Mr. **Allen**. They have not let us down yet.

The **Chairman**. I agree with that. And, incidentally, I also agree with another part of your statement in which you felt that there was a public demand for this. I think that around the country people are beginning to say, "We see Tip O'Neill or we see Bob Michel, but where are you?"

Mr. **Frazee**. Mr. Chairman, we have a perfect example here. To our right, we see no more network television. C-SPAN is still here, covering gavel-to-gavel the entire proceedings of this committee.

The **Chairman**. Well, I think that is a part of it.

Mr. **Allen**. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I might address one other concern that was expressed by at least some of the Senators.

The **Chairman**. Surely, surely.

Mr. **Allen**. There has been some concern that this would create more speeches, longer speeches, longer hours of the Senate, taking away from committee work. If you will look at the last page of my prepared testimony, there is a chart we have developed which shows that our experience in the House of Representatives lays to rest that concern. Not only has there not been an increase of the number of hours of televising the House, there has actually been a slight decrease since we started televising.

Also, Senator Ford made a comment about the then 20-percent increase in the padding of the Congressional Record with extraneous material. He characterized it as "more talk and less work." I think our record would indicate that it is less talk and more printing—and maybe that is not bad.

The **Chairman**. Well, our own committee research confirms those same conclusions—No. 1, that the advent of cameras in a legislative chamber does not create enormous differences in the character of deliberation in that chamber. And we have observed this not only around the country in State legislatures, but we have looked to Canada, as Senator Moynihan mentioned, and not long ago I was in Paris, visiting the National Assembly. I said, "What are those four little black things on the galleries?" Well, those are the four television cameras that just routinely cover the French National Assembly, the Chamber of Deputies.

And I said, "What is your primary purpose?" and they said, "Archival, primarily, but the news media have access to any portions that they want to use."

But this is becoming so commonplace around the world that it is extraordinary that we have resisted it for so long.

Mr. **Allen**. We hope we can help you change that, Senator.

The **Chairman**. Well, your help today, I think, moves that forward significantly, and we are very grateful to both of you for being here.

Mr. **Allen**. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. **Frazee**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The **Chairman**. The committee will now stand in recess until the hour of 11 tomorrow morning.

[Whereupon, at 12:45 p.m., the committee was adjourned, to reconvene Friday, April 15, 1983, at 11 a.m.]

[The following material was subsequently received for inclusion in the record:]

C-SPAN THE CABLE SATELLITE PUBLIC AFFAIRS NETWORK

C-SPAN last appeared before the Senate Committee on Rules in April, 1982. Since that time, many important changes have occurred at C-SPAN. Listed below are some of these changes, as well as others that are anticipated in the near future.

On September 13, 1982 C-SPAN expanded to a 24-hour, seven day a week, nationwide public affairs cable network—the first anywhere in the world.

The number of American homes in which C-SPAN can be seen has risen nearly 400 percent since March 1979—from 3,500,000 homes to over 13,000,000.

C-SPAN is now carried on over 1,000 cable systems across the country and can be seen in 30 state capitals.

As new technology became available in the fall of 1982, C-SPAN began daily "live" cablecasts of congressional committee hearings and public affairs events held throughout the metropolitan Washington area.

In February 1982, C-SPAN inaugurated a second daily "live" viewer call-in hour and by that summer had expanded to a third daily program. Through these programs, viewers can talk directly with congressional, public policy, or political journalist guests—a first for any commercial or cable network.

In 1982, C-SPAN increased its production hours of a series entitled "A Day in the Life of," spending an entire day in Congress with former Representative Richard Bolling (D-MO), and at National Public Radio, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, the Larry King Show, and on the campaign trail with congressional candidates.

Through cooperation with George Mason University in Virginia, C-SPAN's public affairs programming is now offered directly to organizations within the District of Columbia, which are without access to cable technology. Presently, more than 200 organizations, including 20 Federal agencies and the White House receive C-SPAN.

By September 1983, C-SPAN expects to be operational with a second cable network, cablecasting 24 hours a day, seven days a week via Galaxy I, a new Hughes Communications satellite set for launch on June 16, 1983.

The New York Times

MONDAY, MARCH 14, 1983

TV: Cable Ventures Inside Congress

By JOHN CORRY

C-SPAN, the cable network, offers news unexpurgated, unedited, trivia mixed in with the great issues of our time. Its centerpiece is live coverage of sessions in the House of Representatives, where the members talk wisely and foolishly, often at length, and sometimes in the grip of great passion. C-Span presents a feast for political junkies and a masterly civics lesson as well.

Moreover, there is no sensory overload in this; C-Span cameras simply stare at a Congressman who is talking in the well of the House, and only occasionally pull back and take in the Speaker and his clerks. Visually, this is spare but sufficient. There is something to learn even in small glances.

Young Congressmen, for example, have their hair styled; old Congressmen do not. There are no fat Congressmen, although there are a number who are portly. Democrats do not wear button-down collars; Republicans often do, a sign to the political junkie that George Bush has captured the wardrobe of his party.

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Still, it is the words, not the images, on which the junkie will fasten. The House is run on words, most of them dealing with minutiae, but often used with idiosyncracy and style. The word "gentlelady" is heard in the House; so is "administratix." It means the kind of job that Anne McGill Burford no longer has at the Environmental Protection Agency.

There are also metaphors in abundance, although they are not necessarily inventive. The other day, James L. Oberstar, a Minnesota Democrat, said, "The deck was stacked, the train was loaded," meaning a deal had been cut in advance. Minutes later, Phil Gramm, a Texas Republican, spoke of "putting the boot to the first wave of political footballs" and "riding in the wagon of inflation," while "protecting those who are pulling it." As an afterthought, Mr. Gramm "let the genie out of the bottle."

Debates, meanwhile, are civilized. Amenities are observed. Everyone refers to everyone else as esteemed, distinguished or wise. Claude D. Pepper, Democrat of Florida, bitterly opposed the amendment that J. J. Pickle, Democrat of Texas, offered to the Social Security bill last week that would raise the retirement age in the years to come. Mr. Pepper trembled with indignation when the amendment was passed, and it led him to criticize Mr. Pickle. Before he did, however, he called him his "dearest friend" and remembered his "many personal kindnesses," particularly, Mr. Pepper said, when his wife died.

The exchange was moving, really, a reassurance that a friendship would survive political differences. It was also an example of what C-Span does better than any other kind of broadcast journalism. It shows us what keeps Government intact, as much as what divides it. In an age of distrust, this is no small matter.

In general, the House gets a bad press, when it gets any press at all. The Senate has always commanded more attention, and usually it is of a more respectful kind. The 100 Senators speak to the great topics; the 435 Representatives are asked about lesser matters. Senators are looked on as Presidential contenders, but Representatives are seldom considered.

Moreover, Representatives simply get into trouble more often than Senators do. For one thing, there are more Representatives. Abscam touched one Senator, Harrison A. Williams of New Jersey, while a half-dozen Representatives were involved. Indictments, not to mention sexual scandals, seem to afflict the House regularly.

So, there is something reassuring about what we see on C-Span. Even if part of the political process is taking place out of sight — in the cloakroom, in the corridors, in the bars around Capitol Hill — a good deal of it is in the open. So-called "sunshine" laws opened up much of the political process in the 1960's. In the 70's, after Watergate, the public was allowed to attend some House committee sessions that had been closed. C-Span, in the 80's, is part of a natural progression. Perhaps it will one day be allowed into the Senate.

It is also an advertisement for the House. It allows its members to look good. The Social Security debate did not lend itself to great oratory, but it did require the participants to know something of what they were talking about. In committee sessions, which C-Span shows on videotape, the members may look even better.

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When a Judiciary subcommittee met to consider the Immigration Reform bill, Robert Garcia, a Bronx Democrat, appeared as a witness. Mr. Garcia said of the bill that there was "no more profound legislation confronting our nation." A viewer might have questioned Mr. Garcia's judgment on this, although it was hard to deny his passion.

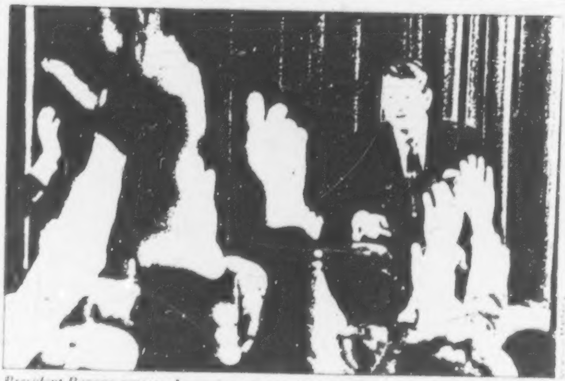
Mr. Garcia asked for the enforcement of the existing laws against "undocumented workers," rather than the application of sanctions against their employers. He also asked that the workers, illegal aliens, be granted a general amnesty. He was followed by Jim Wright, the majority leader, who was the next witness.

Mr. Wright, Democrat of Texas, said he had no prepared statement, and that he just wanted to visit. He talked at length, however, about the history of illegal aliens, about conditions back in Texas and about his opposition to a general amnesty. He finished with a strong, even moving, plea, supporting Mr. Garcia on the sanctions.

It was only a small piece of politics, of course, unlikely to be mentioned in the press. But seen up close on C-Span, it was almost comforting. The House was not just a collection of cut-ups. The House had people who cared.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Leading the week



President Reagan answered a variety of questions during his half-hour appearance

Close-up on the President

President Reagan's appearance marks an expansion of C-SPAN's commitment to public affairs programming

Reagan appeared for half an hour on C-SPAN's *Student and Leaders* program taking questions from an audience of 67 high school students who were visiting Washington as part of a CloseUp Foundation program. Sitting casually on a stool, the President was asked questions on a variety of subjects, including nuclear weapons, welfare and El Salvador.

"Don't turn that camera off," Reagan said at the close of the visit, surprising onlookers. "I just want to say to you now that I've answered some of your questions with things that I made as factual statements. Don't let me get away with it. If you've got any question about them, check it out. Make sure that I was telling you the truth."

The students were not afraid to challenge the president. A 15-year-old from Atlanta asked candidly, "Is it true you are more concerned with the military forces rather than the problems of the middle class, the unfortunate, the poor and their welfare?" After Reagan refuted her assessment, the girl quickly bounced back with another question.

Not all the students nor cable subscribers who reacted to the program during an hour-and-a-half call-in show agreed with Reagan's views. But all agreed that the President's visit was exciting and that an interesting dialogue developed between Reagan and the students.

"I've never seen students so pumped up in my life," said Steve Janger, president of the CloseUp Foundation. CloseUp brings students to Washington for week-long government studies programs, often including a visit with a top White House official on *Students and Leaders*.

Lamb said President Reagan's appearance is one indication of C-SPAN's expanded commitment to public affairs programing. "We've changed the nature of this network dramatically in the last month," Lamb said.

Among projects currently in the works at C-SPAN are:

- A second public affairs network, to be launched in July, using a transponder on Hughes' Galaxy I. The network has not been named, but suggestions include C-SPAN Extra and The People's Network. It will permit C-SPAN to provide more programming and to air Senate floor proceedings, if the Senate approves a measure to provide coverage.
- Arrangements are being made to allow viewers participating in the call-in shows to soon be able to use video and audio hookups at local cable systems to talk directly with call-in show guests.
- C-SPAN officials are negotiating with foreign governments in hopes of using newscasts from different countries, such as Britain's BBC news. "It would give Americans a chance to see how other countries look at what's going on in the world," Lamb said.

Craig Leddy

Presidential appearance

Reagan may appear on more C-SPAN shows

WASHINGTON—President Reagan's appearance on C-SPAN's *Students and Leaders* program was first envisioned more than a year ago by a California cable operator, a White House aide and the President himself. If everything goes according to plan, the chief executive may make regular appearances on the public affairs network.

As California governor, Reagan participated in monthly question-and-answer programs with high school students. Reagan aide Joe Holmes arranged the shows and John Sacman, Bill Daniels and Tony Accone, who is currently the president of Daniels Cablevision of Carlsbad, Calif., helped distribute them.

About a year-and-a-half ago, Accone reminisced with Joe Holmes, now a White House aide, about their California experience and the opportunities available with the student program.

Accone recalled, "Joe thought it would be a terrific idea if we could develop the same idea on the national level now that the then-governor was President. We tried putting the idea together and we were looking for a distribution scheme to again bring this process to the people. Thanks to the opportunities here at C-SPAN, that idea was developed and we had the marvelous experience of having the President do this the first time in what we hope will be a monthly experience."

Following his half-hour appearance, Reagan said he would like to do the show again. Plans are underway for an appearance in February. C-SPAN President Brian Lamb is optimistic that the appearance will occur, but noted that a visit by the President is contingent on the White House's desire to do the show and the President's busy schedule.

President Reagan greets Steve Janger and Margery Kraus of CloseUp and C-SPAN's Brian Lamb and Tony Accone of Daniels Cablevision.

CableVision/February 7, 1983

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Nashville Banner

Nashville Banner **FORUM** Monday, November 8, 1982

Editorials

House proceedings and cable TV

Some time ago, the United States House of Representatives, after long, heated argument and controversy, decided to allow its proceedings to be televised. The Senate has yet to follow suit.

A result of the House action was the birth of C-SPAN, a network carried on many of the nation's cable television systems. In addition to televising House sessions live, C-SPAN also boasts interviews with experts in many fields relating to goverment, call-in shows where the viewers can actively participate, and coverage of such heretofore unavailable gems like the National Press Club, which schedules headliners as its speakers. Moreover, there are interviews with political, business and government leaders. What emerges is an unvarnished look at the way government works, and it has proved its worth — on the cable systems that have elected to include it.

But many do not. In Tennessee, according to Rep. Albert Gore, there are 97 cable televison systems. Only 14 carry C-SPAN. Rep. Gore thinks more cable systems should carry the House channel, and we concur. "C-SPAN is an important public interest programming alternative," Rep. Gore said over the weekend in carrying his plea for greater participation directly to the Tennessee Cable Television Association at its Opryland Hotel meeting.

Rep. Gore correctly concludes that the American people, as never before, are showing a greater interest in government and in observing their elected lawmakers at work. One of the main drawbacks, Rep. Gore thinks, is cost — a penny a subscriber per month, plus a startup fee of from $3,000 to $4,000. "That's not much money for a cable company," he said.

Cable television is growing. It is reaching into more and more homes day by day. In this era of more intense interest in government, we agree with Rep. Gore that cable systems should do more to serve and promote the public interest. The carrying of C-SPAN would go far in achieving that end.

Rep. Gore told the cable executives that C-SPAN is not seen at all in rural areas and not often in small cities and towns. Televising C-SPAN and its treasure of lawmaking, policy-making and decision-making at such a high level of government would be a priceless service to the public.

We join Rep. Gore in urging cable systems to reconsider making C-SPAN available to their subscribers. All cable systems have "empty" channels, and considering the small expense involved, it appears that the cable systems would have little trouble accommodating C-SPAN. We think the public would openly welcome the addition, and it would provide a public service available nowhere else.

C-SPAN / NEWS RELEASE

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For Release: Friday, April 1, 1983

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PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF ARBITRON AUDIENCE SURVEY RELEASED BY C-SPAN

C-SPAN, the cable television industry's public affairs network, has its heaviest viewership among men, according to a qualitative survey by the Arbitron Ratings Company.

C-SPAN's strongest category was Men 25-54, over half of whom recalled viewing the network. By comparison, 27% of the Women 25-54 surveyed had watched C-SPAN.

C-SPAN President Brian Lamb released preliminary findings from the nationwide study in a speech delivered Thursday to the Kansas City Cable Club at the Crown Center in Kansas City, Mo. The Arbitron survey, conducted in February, included in-depth responses from 781 cable television subscribers in 10 communities located throughout the U.S.

"We were particularly pleased to find that close to 40% of all adult viewers surveyed could recall having watched C-SPAN, and over one-quarter of the cable subscribers had watched in the past month," Lamb told the cable executives.

"It is especially rewarding to see subscriber awareness of C-SPAN so high in light of the fact that minimal local promotion and no national advertising are done for the network. Other cable networks have been able to spend millions of dollars to promote and build an audience. With no advertising budget, C-SPAN has achieved a significant audience for a type of programming--public affairs--that has not traditionally drawn large audiences."

The survey also found that C-SPAN viewers are more likely to be politically active, to read business and news magazines, to travel for business, and to be college graduates holding managerial or professional jobs.

Markets surveyed for C-SPAN by Arbitron were: Montgomery, Ala.; Findlay, Ohio; Oceanside, Calif.; Manchester, Conn.; Taylor, Mich.; Las Cruces, N.M.; Eguene, Ore.; Orlando, Fla.; Tulsa, Okla.; and San Antonio, Texas.

C-SPAN, a 24-hour-a-day, seven-days-a-week cable television network, was established four years ago as a service of the cable television industry. It is carried on over 1,000 cable systems nationwide with a potential audience of 30 million people.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
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YEAR END REPORT: C-SPAN PROGRAMMING TRIPLES IN 1982 -- 119 HOURS GIVEN TO COMMUNICATIONS ISSUES

WASHINGTON, D.C.--In 1982 the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network provided its 11 million viewer households with over 6,400 hours of public affairs programming--nearly three times the 2,338 hours cablecast in 1981. The vast growth in programming hours is a direct result of C-SPAN becoming a 24-hour, 7-day a week service on September 13. Expanded staff and equipment during 1982 is also responsible for the greater coverage of public affairs events in the nation's capital.

According to a year-end staff report to the C-SPAN Board of Directors, the network devoted 119 hours of programming to communications issues such as AT&T divestiture, cable copyright, and the First Amendment. These issues, which are critical as the country enters what many call "The information age" received little or no coverage elsewhere in the news media.

The 119 hours were distributed among House and Senate hearings, nationwide viewer call-in programs, and events sponsored by private organizations.

According to the staff report, C-SPAN's 6,400 hours of programming included the following:

1. U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Daily, "live" gavel-to-gavel coverage of debate whenever Congress is in session.

	1982	1981
Hours in Session	767	653
Days in Session	140	161
"Live" Hours	767	618

2. NATIONWIDE VIEWER CALL-IN PROGRAMS. In 1982 C-SPAN added a third daily hour-long viewer call-in program featuring politically prominent guests such as Hamilton Jordan, George Bush, Ralph Nader and Phyllis Schlafly. Also, 145 congressmen and senators.

	1982	1981
No. of Guests	446	207
No. of Calls Taken On-Air*	8,365	4,024

*No estimate of attempted calls is available

(MORE)

3. CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS

	1982	1981
House Committees	540	150
Senate Committees	335	292
Total Program Hours	875	451*

*Includes Joint Committee Hearings

4. CLOSE UP FOUNDATION PROGRAMS. High school students from across the country visit Washington to learn about public policy-making. C-SPAN covers the CLOSE UP events. Last year the Students and Leaders at the White House series featured Ed Meese, James Baker, James Watt, Donald Regan and other Administration officials.

	1982
Student-Teacher Seminars	104
Students and Leaders Series	33
Total programs	137
Total hours	68.5

5. NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON SPEAKER SERIES. On a frequent basis, prominent newsmakers address the club. Among those speaking in 1982: Mrs. Anwar Sadat, Gene Kelly, Alan Greenspan, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Pakistan President Zia.

	1982	1981
Press Club Speakers	73	64

6. CONFERENCE AND CONVENTIONS. C-SPAN covered dozens of public affairs events sponsored by private organizations.

	1982	1981
Total Hours	548	143

7. FEDERAL AGENCIES. The agencies of the Executive Branch such as the FCC, FTC, and CPSC received more coverage from C-SPAN in 1982.

	1982	1981
Total Hours	84	24

8. SPECIAL PROGRAMS. C-SPAN's ability to provide extended coverage of events and single subjects led to several special programs in 1982. Among them:

	Hours
A Day at the Washington Times	8.
The Larry King Show	5.5
Congressional Baseball Game	3.
Democratic Natl.Comm. Mid-Term Conference	30.
A Day at Scripps-Howard Newspapers	8.
A Day in the Life of Congressman Richard Bolling	9.
On the Campaign Trail 1982	4.5
"Left vs. Right" Debate Series	10.
Total Hours	78

TO ESTABLISH REGULATIONS TO IMPLEMENT TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE

FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1983

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 11:07 a.m., in room 301, Russell Senate Office Building, Hon. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (chairman), presiding.

Present: Senators Mathias, Ford, and Warner.

Staff present: John B. Childers, staff director; William McW. Cochrane, minority staff director; Gerald W. Siegel, minority chief counsel; John K. Swearingen, director, technical services; Ann B. Cook, chief clerk; Peggy Parrish, professional staff member (minority); Carole J. Blessington, assistant chief clerk, and Waitus A. Dowless, professional staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

We are privileged today to hear from a distinguished Member of the Senate, Senator Mattingly. Before we ask Senator Mattingly to begin his statement, I would like unanimous consent to include a statement submitted by the Honorable David L. Boren.

Senator FORD. I have no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, Senator Boren's statement will be included.

[The prepared statement of Senator Boren follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. DAVID L. BOREN, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate very much the opportunity to submit a statement for the record on the matter of instituting television coverage of the Senate.

I am a strong advocate of the right of the people to know about the conduct of public business. While serving as a member of the Oklahoma State Legislature and later as Governor I was very active in successfully advocating stronger laws requiring Open Meetings of legislative and public bodies, recorded votes on all important issues and fuller disclosure of campaign financing and lobbying activities. Insuring the public's right-to-know is the best possible protection against corruption and the abuse of governmental authority.

I have a deep commitment to First Amendment principles. If I felt that gavel-to-gavel television were required to protect those rights, I would not even question its implementation. I do not, however, believe that gavel-to-gavel coverage is necessary in order to protect the public's right to know.

Today nearly 1370 reporters are accredited to cover the Senate of the United States with either broadcast or print media and that does not include media in the home states of members. I am glad that the Senate receives this kind of media coverage. The dangers inherent in too little coverage and too much secrecy far outweigh any possible harm done by excesses which sometimes flow from occasional media sensationalism. By and large, the media has performed well and I am convinced that any public official works a little harder when he knows that the people are watching.

I also feel that the ability of the public to understand fully the key issues of the day would be enhanced by selective broadcast of Senate debates. If we are ever to reach a consensus on vital issues like a fair economic strategy for our nation or an approach to reduce the nuclear arms race, it can only come from a broader understanding of these issues on the part of the people themselves.

I am sorry that the Panama Canal debate was not televised. The debate on the sale of AWACs planes, key budget debates, and the recent debate on the Adelman nomination are the kinds of debates that would inform the public and give citizens a greater sense of participating in their own government. Most Senators would participate in these major debates with or without television coverage.

In my opinion a rule to allow selected coverage of major issues under the direction of a bipartisan review panel would be worthy of support. Any rule allowing for such coverage should also prevent the rebroadcast of remarks taken out of context or the use of broadcast materials for partisan or commercial use by either incumbents, challengers, or organizations.

Even with selective broadcasting, the rules should be carefully drawn. Thomas Jefferson was correct in writing in his Manual of Parliamentary Practice that rules should be clear enough that there will be a "uniformity of proceeding in business, not subject to the caprice of the Speaker or the capriciousness of the members."

Senator Robert Byrd, in one of his very instructive lessons on the history of the Senate, also quoted some wise words from the late Vice President Adlai Stevenson which emphasized that rules governing the Senate are founded deep in human experience and that they should not be changed lightly.

Instead of immediately going all the way to gavel-to-gavel coverage, it makes much more sense to experiment first with the broadcast of major debates on major issues. From that experience we can determine if the nature of the deliberative process is being hindered in any way or if the rights of a minority to a full hearings are being sacrificed.

I will be surprised if we do not find that selected broadcasting is of real value to the public and to the Senate. Gavel-to-gavel coverage is, however, I believe, different. Matters which are now concluded by voice vote and with a minimum of debate may take far longer as members yield to the natural inclination to get on television to impress the voters back home.

Important non-televised committee meetings, informal working sessions with colleagues, attention to correspondence and telephone calls to constituents may be short-changed in order to be seen on television on the Senate floor by the people back home. The quality of the legislative product which is the first responsibility of the Senate may decline as a result to gavel-to-gavel coverage.

Gavel-to-gavel coverage also conveys a false sense of importance to Senate floor action to the citizens. When a major debate is taking place on the Senate floor and a vote on that issue will soon occur, Senators belong on the Senate floor. Broadcasting those key debates might bring more Senators to the floor to speak and to listen.

At other times key committee hearings and mark-ups deserve first priority for a Senator rather than floor action. Perhaps, selective broadcasting of key committee meetings is also in order and would give the public a broader more realistic view than gavel-to-gavel coverage of the full Senate. Why should the citizens be seeing a discussion of a National Wildflower Week resolution on the Senate floor instead of a committee hearing on the defense budget or on a tax bill or on the confirmation of a key appointee? The Senators should not be drawn to the Senate floor at a time like that by the television camera and the viewer's time would also be better spent watching some other part of the legislative process.

In short, selective broadcasting is preferable to gavel-to-gavel coverage. First, it allows for a more careful experimentation with media coverage. Second, it is less likely to distort the priorities of the Senate so that areas which are not televised but which are critically important still receive adequate attention from the members of the Senate. Third, selective broadcast conveys to the public a far more accurate understanding of how the Senate really functions. Sometimes the most important job a Senator has to do is on the Senate floor. Often, however, committee work, dealing with constituent problems or working through a new idea with another Senator, may take precedence.

Let us move carefully so that the changes which we make in our rules help the Senators see more clearly what their priorities should be and help the public to understand more accurately how the system really works.

The **Chairman**. Senator Mattingly.

TESTIMONY OF HON. MACK MATTINGLY, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF GEORGIA

Senator **Mattingly**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to thank the chairman and the committee for the opportunity to speak today on Senate Resolution 66.

There are several points I would like to make about this resolution which would authorize television coverage in the Senate Chamber. First of all, it would seriously alter the historic nature of the Senate by forcing changes in both written rules and the more informal procedures.

Let me quickly say I am not against change in the Senate because I am totally in love with the way the Senate operates now. We have to change in some ways to make this body more functional. As one who is used to working in the private sector, the ways of the Senate are, at times, maddening. The changes need, however, to be carefully studied for all of their ramifications before being implemented.

It would be wrong to throw open the doors to the television cameras and worry about the problems and results somewhere down the road. Once this change is made, there is no turning back.

Let me give you an example. It is my carefully considered opinion that gavel-to-gavel coverage in the U.S. Senate cannot coexist with unlimited debate. Once the cameras go on, there will have to be some control on when, why, and how long a Senator may talk.

Over and over again, we hear the example of the U.S. House of Representatives cited as the great success story of legislative television. Perhaps it works fairly well for them. But there is a critical difference in the House. The ability of a Member to address the body is tightly controlled. Each Member does have the right to 1 minute of floor time to speak to any subject that is on his mind. One minute is it. With all due respect to my colleagues, there are many Senators who need more than a minute just to clear their throats and get rolling.

Now, do we really want to keep the system of unlimited debate? That is a fair question deserving of study. Experts far more knowledgeable on constitutional history say this is one of the key differences between the Senate and the House of Representatives. Without unlimited debate, the U.S. Senate would be a far different body.

Maybe we need a radical change in the nature of the Senate, but that historic alteration should not be the offhand result of adopting the television practices of the House of Representatives.

I have examined the Canadian Parliament, which is often cited as another example of the successful blend of television and the legislature. Again, the rights of a member to speak on the floor, even during debates on legislation, are tightly controlled and limited. The leaders choose who speaks on a bill, and the number is determined by the leadership of the party in power. Simply put, if the administration puts up a list of eight speakers, the opposition is allowed eight speakers.

How would television end unlimited debate? On all major bills or nominations, every Senator who could walk, crawl, or be carried to the Chamber would speak on the issue. Many of us now take the opportunity of submitting statements for the record; it puts their views on record without taking up the time of the Senate. It is not just ego that would generate all this talk on the Senate floor. Once a debate began, and Senator after Senator spoke, viewers would begin to wonder, "Where is my Senator? Did he show up for work today?"

Television would also force floor appearances on much less weighty matters. For example, this is the 250th anniversary of the founding of the State of Georgia. Senator Nunn and I introduced a resolution commemorating this occasion. I presented a copy of that resolution in Savannah just a few weeks ago.

This is something we all do regularly. It is not necessary to take up floor time with complete speeches on each one. Many times, we just submit our statement for the record. But if the Senate were available on cable to the television stations back in the home State, the airwaves would be full to overflowing with discussions on this type of resolution. Right now, our press secretaries are rubbing their hands together in anticipation of this very thing. Why bother with the trouble and expense of going to the studio in the basement and recording a tape for the television stations back home? The press secretary would just call the news directors and tell them to record C-SPAN. It not only gets you on the air immediately, it makes for better television. The Senate Chamber is a far more colorful backdrop.

Some of you might be saying, "I would never do that." Imagine, if you will, sitting in your office with the television on in the background, tuned in to the Senate floor. Suddenly, there is your home State colleague, commending the popular football coach at the State university on his outstanding season. Some of us might be able to sit tight over work and stay in the office. But I think most Senators would feel the need to go to the floor and sing that coach's praises.

Rather than take up the committee's time with more examples, I will turn to the Pearson/Ribicoff report. As you know, this report recommended sweeping changes in the way the Senate operates. Many of these recommendations have great merit. All will be studied carefully before being enacted. I doubt if we will see any mad rush to abolish staffed subcommittees, for example.

It makes sense to me to include the question of televising the Senate in with the other subjects discussed in that report. This would allow for concrete rules to be adopted before we would be asked to vote on the television question itself. In other words, we would have a lot better idea what we were getting into. We would have a chance to pass separately on the issues affected by television, such as unlimited debate and access to the floor.

I know the Pearson/Ribicoff report opposes gavel-to-gavel coverage, but says coverage of major issues would be a good idea. I would want to see exactly how this would work, first. I mean, who would decide who got how much time on the floor during the television hours? We might need to revive Solomon in order to solve this problem.

I understand the markup of Senate Resolution 66 is set for May 2, while consideration of the Pearson/Ribicoff report is going to be 1 week later. I would recommend that you combine the two. The problems and the issues under consideration are closely linked and should be studied and decided together.

One final word. With our budget deficits and economic problems in this country, it is difficult to understand why we would spend the public's money for this purpose. There are many worthy programs crying for Federal dollars. Why should we spend all this money just to put ourselves on television?

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Mattingly.

Does it trouble you at all that another question may be asked today which is in a sense parallel to the question that you suggested might be asked tomorrow if we had television? You said a Georgian might call you up and say, "Where is my Senator? I did not see him on the tube. Did he show up for work today?" The same question could be asked, "Where is my Senator? I have seen my Representative. I have seen Tip O'Neill. I have seen Jim Wright. They are all there, working on the floor of the Congress, but I do not see my Senator on the tube." Does that trouble you?

Senator MATTINGLY. No, that does not trouble me. I think that goes hand in hand with the House of Representatives having limited debate and a tight restriction of time.

The CHAIRMAN. I have a high regard for the knowledge of American citizens about their government and about what happens in Washington, but I am not sure that everybody understands the fine points of differences in procedure between the House and the Senate. What they are seeing is this: they flick on the tube, and there are the Members of Congress. I just happened to see this last night, a number of Members of Congress—Jack Kemp, Elliott Levitas, various others—just short clips out of the actual debate on the floor of the House. It was an interesting, revealing kind of insight into the sort of debate they were having there, and it was spirited; you could see the fire in their eyes, because they were obviously hot about the debate. But I did not see Wendell Ford or Mack Mattingly or Mac Mathias, because we are not there.

Senator MATTINGLY. Well, they probably do not have as many people running for President as the U.S. Senate does, which I think would have a lot more impact, too, on the——

The CHAIRMAN. I think the question that you propound is a good question, and I am not taking it lightly, because I think it is true. If television facilities are there, and you never show up on them, somebody may ask that question, "Where is my Senator?"

But I do think it is equally fair to say, couldn't a similar question be asked today, because one branch of Congress is covered, and the other is not.

Now, Senator Ford is a proponent of audio coverage, and I am, too. I certainly think that ought to be part of the coverage. But I am wondering how you feel about it. You think that Senators would limp or crawl over there to the floor to get on television. Do you think they would limp or crawl over there to get on radio?

Senator MATTINGLY. I think radio is different from television, and I think we are all aware in this country of the impact television has on communications, what impact it has on not only news coverage, but——

The CHAIRMAN. You think that if they were ambulatory, they would go to get on radio, but they would limp or crawl to get on television.

Senator MATTINGLY. Yes, I do. I sincerely believe that. If you ever watch the television lights, no matter who it is, watch how many people try to crowd around the light. It is like, if you remember back home at night, when you turn on the light in the summertime, and all the bugs come around the light—the same things happen when you turn on the television lights. Not true, I think, in the press coverage, the print media, and I do not think you would see the same thing happen in what Senator Ford is proposing there; not that I have given a great deal of thought to radio coverage, because this is dealing with television coverage.

The CHAIRMAN. But historically, precedents, I think, are otherwise, in my view, and I offer this with all respect. I think the greatest exploiter of the electronic media in this century was Franklin Roosevelt and his "fireside chats" by radio.

Senator MATTINGLY. Well, he just did not have television available.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am just pointing out that there is a big potential on the audio side, even without the video. I am for the video in addition. And I am serious, because I think we ought to think very carefully about Senator Ford's proposal.

Senator MATTINGLY. I do, too, and I would like to add something. You were talking about President Roosevelt doing the "fireside chats" with radio. It would be interesting to see a comparison of the radio programs that the current President does and see what the consumption is of that nationwide—and I have no idea what it is, but if it were a Saturday morning television program by the President, I would wager that there would be far more people watching it than there would be if there were radio coverage. But that is just a presumption on my part.

The CHAIRMAN. I would appreciate your views on one other subject which came up at the hearing yesterday. Let us assume for the moment—although I know you do not want to—that this committee has favorably reported Senate Resolution 66, the Senate has adopted it. If it were up to you, how would you direct the cameras? Senator Long objected to the proposal to restrict the camera to the Presiding Officer and to the Senator who was actually speaking. He objected to the kind of false perception that might be given, and suggested some broader views—covering the well during a vote, covering the Senators in discussion around the floor during the quorum call—in other words, giving a more realistic view of what the Senate actually was like. I do not know that he got to the point of recommending anything; I did not understand him to say that he wanted to pan the Senate when it was virtually empty and there was one Senator there. And, in fact, the proposal to restrict the camera to the Presiding Officer or the speaker really was to avoid panning the Senate and indicating what the membership present was, and that was a restriction that was adopted as a concession to opponents. But I wonder what you thought—that if we do go to televising the Senate someday—that the range of camera vision ought to be.

Senator MATTINGLY. I think that would depend upon how you restructured the Senate itself, whether you had coverage of only major debates, or how you restructured the committee system, whether you were going to have set times that we, as Senators, would be on the floor of the Senate—whether we are going to function 3 or 4 hours a day on the floor of the Senate, and then everybody would be there. In that respect, I think it ought to be focused on the Senator from his seat and panned all over.

But that is why I think it goes to a larger picture than I have seen or than others have seen. I have only been here 2 years, 3½ months, but I see a tremendous value in the U.S. Senate as a body to debate and carry on the great issues, and where you really have a soundness of research, a soundness of presenting your views. And I think that what I look at now is, would you destroy not only just the historical value, but the character of the Senate, as a place for unlimited debate to really where you carry the major issues. And I think I would have to answer that part of it in that context. Later, if we are going to totally restructure and look at the Pearson/Ribicoff proposal, which I think is instrumental in this, if we go and see how in truth we really want to restructure the committee system and restructure the Senate—and this cannot be done overnight, and it should not be. I have been here long enough to respect the Senate, as I am sure that you all do, probably even to a greater degree than I do since I have been here. But what I have seen, I would hate to see the character of the Senate changed, and that is what really deeply concerns me about televising the U.S. Senate, and I am sure that those who want it televised have great intentions. But I think it would be detrimental to not only the historical value, but what the people of our country expect of the U.S. Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Ford.

Senator FORD. Senator Mattingly, yesterday, I did not get to stay and see all of the dignitaries and celebrities testify pro and con about this, but I understand that C-SPAN testified yesterday that, basically, they would just have one channel, which could carry both the House and the Senate; they have another transponder or something, but basically for the present, it would only have one channel. And they said it would have to be a decision between the House and the Senate as to who would get on prime time. Well, I can see that in conference now. That indicated to me that it is prime time that people want to get on, whether it is the House that wants to make prime time or the Senate that wants to make prime time, so it is prime time television, and I think this supports the contention that you make.

So we are into a fight between the House and the Senate now as to who would have prime time, who would be videoed maybe and carried later, or who would be carried earlier and videoed and be carried later. It gets to be fairly expensive.

I have proposed radio full time in lieu of the tremendous expenditure that would be required. This resolution says $3.5 million; the original was $8 million. No one really knows how much it is going to cost, and we have never underestimated anything that we have done since I have been here; it has always cost more, and they come back for a supplemental. We talk about three or four cameras, and some say if you want to do it technically correct, you have to go beyond that. Now we are already taking rooms, and what rooms are we taking in what office building to have the control center in. It is already beginning to move because they feel the majority leader is going to pass it, and so they are on the move to do all of these things, and the expense is already beginning to mount.

The radio is everywhere, in your car, your truck, your business, your milking parlor—it is there, and you can listen to it any time, where you cannot have television. We really do not have television here. We have C-SPAN—unless we change the rules—and C-SPAN is limited to cable, and cable is limited to what they want to do. Now, in certain areas in my State, you buy cable, and you get 13 channels. That is the first expense. Then, you buy HBO. That is the second expense. And the third expense would be another level which would take you to 43 channels. So it begins to get quite expensive. And that third section is where C-SPAN is. So you are talking about $30 to $35 per month to get C-SPAN in my area. So really, when you get down to it, I am not sure as to what number of homes in which you find cable you will find C-SPAN, and they do not have to carry it. But radio is there.

I have been told by elocution experts—if that is the correct word—that you make more of an impact as it relates to the content of the debate or the discussion if an individual is listening to you rather than watching you. That is the reason Roosevelt was so effective. People listened to him, and they listened to his words. They did not care whether he was sitting there by the fireplace in his pajamas and bathrobe. You and I would have to have on, as they say, that paisley blue suit, double knit, have on an orange shirt and a red tie, and really give it to them.

I am talking now more than—but I am trying to support your position. Television is going to cost millions of dollars—millions, that is plural. Radio, and changing all the audio of the Senate, costs about $116,000 total, and about $16,000 to $20,000 annually for radio. That is all it costs, and then everyplace in this country is going to be able to get it. That is a first step. One, I do not like the expenditure of the money; second, I think it is an intrusion into the greatest deliberative body. The British Parliament does not have it. Proponents have talked about other legislative bodies which do, but there is a difference. We are going to spend a lot of money if we approve this—it is all ready for the Appropriations Committee if the resolution is passed. Also, we will have not changed the rules as needed if this resolution passes without amendments. So we are getting the cart before the horse.

I have also heard that there are already people who are offering their services to Senators to tell them how to posture before television, what color clothes to wear, how to comb their hair, how to make gestures——

Senator MATTINGLY. By the way, is mine all right?

Senator FORD. You look good, you look good. I do not know whether you had any coaching——

The **Chairman**. You need a little comb right across the front. [Laughter].

Senator **Ford**. What I am saying, though, is that we are already seeing exactly what you and I are concerned about—one, the unlimited time on prime time——

The **Chairman**. Would the Senator yield just at that point?

Senator **Ford**. I do not want to yield—I am having a good time—but I will.

The **Chairman**. Well, I want to say that when I first ran for the House of Representatives in 1960, television was not quite as big as it is today, and color television was not as big. I recall that one of my campaign advisers came to me and he said, "I want to talk to you very seriously." I said, "What about?" He said, "Well, you wear a lot of blue button-down shirts, and I wish you would stop. You are giving the wrong impression."

So I do not think that that kind of advice would be original if we had television.

Senator **Mattingly**. Let me make a comment about that. Even if they did not put ABC, NBC, and CBS in there and everybody else, they might change the law to where C-SPAN could be selling their stuff to ABC, NBC, and CBS. Who knows? That is the same thing that we saw, which I disagree with, where some of the parties took some clips of one party in the House of Representatives off C-SPAN and used them in a campaign. Now the other party is going to do the same thing.

Two points. One, is there enough news in this country? I submit to you that I think there is enough news coverage in the United States right now. We have a blizzard of news. The second question is: Are we here to represent our States and our country, or are we here to be on television? To me, that is too simple. I think we are here to be representatives of our people.

I feel that this movement into televising the Senate—and I know you can get on both sides of this issue—would deter some people more than they are already deterred by having the media sit already in the press gallery, from doing what they are supposed to be doing on the floor of the Senate or in the committee rooms.

Senator **Warner**. Senator, times have changed. We have all lived through the advent and the coming of television. And an increasing number of people are relying on television for their principal means of communication in receiving the news. And when you tell me there is enough news, that is indicating that you are going to sit here as an arbiter and say what the people should see and should not see. Maybe there is only 5 percent who want to follow the proceedings of the U.S. Senate. That 5 percent should not be deprived. They cannot get here, most of them, for economic reasons, handicapped, too busy to come and sit in the gallery, and if they could, it would only be for a short period of time. We do not want to sit here as arbiters as to what they should see and should not see.

Putting aside the relevant points that Senator Ford raises about costs—and that is troublesome, and I support him on the radio, he knows that—but I do not want to sit here and say that there are some things that you are entitled to see and others that you cannot see. You did not mean to infer that, did you?

Senator **Mattingly**. No, I did not infer that. In fact, you know if you are from Virginia, Maryland, or surrounding Delaware, you do not have any problem. I think you get sufficient coverage. But I do not—I do live that close. And I think that you will find that a majority of the viewers who do not live that close are not concerned or worried about getting the television coverage.

Senator **Warner**. But then, the question that the Senate would change. In my brief tenure here of 4½ years, I have become as devoted to the traditions of this body as any other Member. It may well be that there are some things that should change.

Senator **Mattingly**. I agree.

Senator **Warner**. I was more or less opposed to television in the Senate in the beginning, and I am still looking at it very carefully, but I am moving in the other direction. One of the things that concerned me was that rather tragic filibuster that we had on the eve of Christmas—you remember that.

Senator **Mattingly**. Yes, I remember it.

Senator **Warner**. Some of the things that took place in that Chamber, I question whether or not they would have occurred if, indeed, cameras had been beaming down on the Members of the Senate at that time.

Senator **Mattingly**. But what you are inferring there is that people would change what they said and the way they said it because of television, and the same thing may be true if you are critical of what happened in December, that it may also work the other direction, that it may preclude people from saying things that they feel deeply—I do not mean about that debate, but any other debate—it may be restrictive. I do not know. I am not saying that is so. But you are asking was I putting myself of being in the position of the lord and master about whether TV should be there. The same thing is true—there are two sides to each issue, in my opinion.

Senator **Warner**. Well, there, the inference is that some of us are going to be able to fool the people. You know the famous quote, "You can fool them part of the time, but you cannot fool all of them all of the time."

I think in due course that the people will see through statements, acts, that certain Senators might do or perform in view of the television, and in due course, the American public would be able to look into that television camera and determine exactly what we are doing and what is right and what is wrong.

Senator **Ford**. I think the Senator from Virginia, really, in his statement has condemned television in the Senate. I think by your statement, you have condemned it, because I think the Pearson/Ribicoff report is an endeavor to improve the functioning of the Senate so that we will not be caught in the December problem again. That is No. 1, and that is more important to me than television in the Senate. The ultimate objective is to make sound policy—discuss and make the right kind of policy and laws, and not to have our debates televised. That is the last thing I think we need. So, if we would have changed the structure of the Senate, if we would have changed the debate of the Senate and the posturing of the Senators was then enhanced by some Fifth Avenue movie director, then we have made one awful mistake. And if I understood what you said, then you have already condemned television in the Senate, by saying that with television we would not have done what we did; we would have done it somewhat differently.

So I think on that basis that the Senator has substantiated basically the position of the Senator from Georgia.

Senator **Warner**. I assure you, it was not my intention to condemn——

Senator **Ford**. Well, you just said that it would not have happened, and so if it would not have happened, then television would have changed what did happen in the Senate.

Senator **Warner**. That was the Senator's thesis, as he understood it. He said it would change the nature of the Senate, so something is going to change, and I think it might change it for the better. Was that what you were going to say?

Senator **Mattingly**. That is right—you have got it together. That is very good.

Senator **Ford**. They are moving together pretty good.

Senator **Mattingly**. I would like to make a comment, though, when we talk about a tragic filibuster—I am not saying whether it was or was not; I am not taking any position here—but if we look historically at other filibusters that have been held in the U.S. Senate, I am sure at those times, they were termed "tragic filibusters," also. But only looking back at history can you tell if those were, in fact, good or bad filibusters, if they had good or bad results. And I think that history would tell us whether the December one was, or whether one that we are going to have, probably this year or next year, is good or bad.

So I do not think that the filibusters that have been held in the history of our country in the U.S. Senate prior to television—they did not even know about television, and a long time ago, they probably did not even know about radio. But still, they had filibusters. Still, they had the great debates on the floor of the Senate, unrestricted and without outside influence, whether it be the camera over here, trying to modify what you may say on the floor of the Senate. I think it would be tragic, even if you put radio in there, if it were of such a scope that it changed what you said on the floor of the Senate. That would be bad. I mean, you need to speak from your heart——

Senator **Warner**. Do you think radio would change the character of the Senate?

Senator **Mattingly**. I am just saying if it did. I am just saying if it became such a magnificent force out there, where maybe George White, the Architect, had put it in there where it would be a force, just like he did the Hart Building.

Senator **Warner**. Do you think during the Panama Canal debates, when radio was broadcast live from the U.S. Senate, the only time in the history of the Senate—and you and I were not here; we would submit to our elders here—did it change the character of the Senate or the debate, in your judgment, Senator Ford?

Senator **Ford**. I do not think it changed the character of the debate. I was part of it, and was one of the final individuals to make a statement. The point that I make as it relates to radio is that people listened to what I said, that people would listen to what you say if they listen to a debate on radio.

Now, there are a lot of frivolous things that are not meaningful—during the Adelman debate, as was testified before this committee yesterday, there were actually three Senators on the floor—the managers of the bill and the presiding officer—and they had a quorum call. That is a waste of time and talent and expense.

Senator MATTINGLY. I think your point is well taken, which gets back to the Pearson/Ribicoff report. I think the whole thing, if you take it in that context of the change in the Senate, that it needs to be done in tandem with that. If you are going to change the media coverage or whatever, let's do the whole thing together, because I think you are going to have to restructure the way we do work in the Senate, if you want to take on TV in the Senate—the committee structure and the whole scenario.

Senator FORD. I do not want to belabor it here, but there are a lot of questions.

Would the Senator from Virginia, since he is tilting toward television in the Senate, be willing to vote for a provision in the resolution which states that no money shall be appropriated until such time as necessary new rules have been adopted?

Senator WARNER. I think there are certain rules that will have to be adopted to facilitate the television. I think that that is a reasonable request to consider—I will not commit, but it is a reasonable request. I think that rule would have to embrace how the cameras are utilized in the Senate and things of that nature.

Senator FORD. Should Senators be required to speak from the well, as in the House; should they be required to speak from their seats; or should they be free to move around the Chamber as now?

One of the greatest times in recent years for me was listening to Senator John Culver from Iowa. He never stayed at his seat, and he did not need the microphone, and it was something to behold. Now, he would be good on television, but if you restricted him to stay down in the well, or he could not move around the Senate, you would have taken away John's ability to make a speech. So there is a question.

Should voting only be from each Senator's seat, so we would see the mess in the well?

How can we assure fair and equal recognition of Senators?

How can we assure that? What kind of rules are we going to have?

How can we avoid the abuse of camera exposure by Senators seeking to reach their constituents during prime time, if there is only one channel out there, and it is the Senate's day to be on prime time, because you only have one channel? Are you going to be videoed and go later, at 2 o'clock in the morning? How many constituents can pay the extra price to get the extra channel so that they will have C-SPAN?

Should cloture rules be tightened?

We are beginning to get far afield, and I am very concerned from what I feel and see here that we are going to provide the cure before we know what the cause is.

Senator MATTINGLY. I think one good thing about Senate Resolution 66 is that it is forcing everybody now to talk about the problems. What it can do on the resolution—I am opposed to televising the Senate—but what it can do to reduce the numbers of committees and subcommittees, I am hoping it works, in that respect.

I think down deeply, it bothers me a little bit because Howard Baker is for it, but we may have to part ways on this one.

Senator WARNER. He is a man of not inconsiderable experience in the traditions of the Senate.

Senator MATTINGLY. I think that is true, but I think, like on the 10 percent withholding, that the debate may go on.

Senator FORD. I guess it will, if they can only get 59 votes.

Senator MATTINGLY. I hope we get more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Warner has suggested again the wisdom of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who said that "Nothing is so conducive to a good conscience as the suspicion that someone may be watching." Here is an opportunity for the whole Senate to have good, clear consciences, because we would not only have the suspicion that we were being watched, but we would know that we were being watched.

Senator MATTINGLY. The thing I would like to see is 100 Senators on the floor of the U.S. Senate, and that maybe 3 or 4 hours a day, everybody would just go down there and work.

The CHAIRMAN. You said one thing which, certainly, no one here would take exception to, that we are here to represent our constituents. That is our primary duty. You would get unanimous support for that proposition. But perhaps a little more difficult question is to go on and say how are you going to represent them; what is the best way to represent them?

One of the classic ways to represent constituents is to be in communication with them. In Edmund Burke's famous letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, he cites frequent communication as one of the duties that a legislator owes to his constituents. In Edmund Burke's day, the best you could do was to take your quill pen in hand, write a letter, frank it, and put it in the postal system. Today, there is a better means of communicating, and communicating in a very direct way.

Now, you said it might inhibit something that you felt deeply about. And the only reason I am pressing you a little on this is because that is so important to this whole debate. Would you be inhibited from saying something you felt deeply about? Isn't that actually what you owe your constituents, to tell them what you feel deeply about. And how better can you do it than in a manner in which they can see whether you have fire in your eye, or whether you are doing it with reluctance, or whether you are doing it with pleasure and confidence, or whether you are doing it with sorrow and reluctance?

Senator MATTINGLY. Or showboating, or running for President of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, people are pretty good about seeing through that; they are pretty good at it. There are a lot of defeated candidates who have found that out.

Senator MATTINGLY. Which goes into an even greater question, and I think even you have posed this from your position, when you referred to franking, the number of letters that are sent out. It may be that if the proponents get their way and televise the

Senate, in larger context, maybe you ought to reduce the number of letters that are sent out by franking.

Senator WARNER. Maybe we could cut down on it.

The CHAIRMAN. I would hope so, I would hope so.

Senator MATTINGLY. Once again, I think it takes into the whole picture that we are talking about, about the operation of the Senate. It is not just televising the Senate that we are talking about.

Senator WARNER. Maybe the chairman ought to cite for the record today the cost of the communication here in the United States.

Senator MATTINGLY. That is the reason why I brought it up.

The CHAIRMAN. One hundred million dollars for the Congress, both Houses.

Senator MATTINGLY. So, knowing how most things go in government, we would still have that. But I am just saying that it needs to be looked at if we are going to restructure how we do business.

Senator WARNER. Would you be willing to try it for a period of time, assuming we can contain the cost somehow, for a trial period?

Senator MATTINGLY. No. I am not willing to say let us go ahead and try, beginning next month or this year, because I think it needs more debate. I think that once again—and not to beat it to death—the Pearson/Ribicoff report and the total restructuring of the Senate needs to be looked at, and that television needs to be a part of that.

We have been looking at Senate Resolution 66. Now, the report has come out, and they ought to be put together. We are supposed to be doing things thoughtfully, and not with a shotgun approach. I think the shotgun approach would be to say, "Let us go ahead," and you know as well as I do, Senator Warner, how many things has the Congress ever done that have changed. I mean, once you get it there, it is going to be there. I think it takes more deliberation and more thought and more study.

Senator WARNER. Well, Senator, we are doing that. This is the sixth hearing, isn't it, Mr. Chairman, that we have had.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator WARNER. We have had extensive floor debate. No one is trying to railroad this principle, and we are all trying to figure out what is best.

Senator MATTINGLY. That is right, and that is the reason why we are doing this. I just think the better way to do it would be to do it in a total restructuring with the Pearson/Ribicoff. I think that is very germane to what we are talking about in televising the Senate.

Senator FORD. There is also another thing here that bothers me a little bit. If you want to see us, you have got to pay for it. You have got to buy a cable. We are going to pay a considerable sum so you can pay to see it. I think the true scholar, those who are interested in the debates of the Senate, will listen to radio. So what we are getting into—and I know we have gone too long with the Senator here—but we are getting into a double dose. The taxpayers are having to pay to see us in the Senate, and then we are turning around, and if they want to watch what they have paid for, they have got to pay again. And in my area, you have got to get up into the third level before you can ever get C-SPAN, because it is not in that first 13 channels.

The **Chairman**. Well, I do not want to prolong this, and we have another witness we should move to, who will have some comments on that very subject. But yesterday, both Walter Cronkite and Julian Goodman spoke for the networks about their great interest in carrying Senate debate on network, for which there is no charge——

Senator **Ford**. Then we lose control of it.

The **Chairman**. No. They would like to have control of the cameras, but they are willing to use the take that they can get from our cameras.

Well, we are grateful to you for being here, and we would be glad to have you join us here on the bench and listen to the next witness, who will calm all of the doubts that you have in your mind.

Senator **Mattingly**. It must be a proponent. Is Howard Baker behind you?

Senator **Warner**. Please, join us.

Senator **Mattingly**. Thank you, but I have to get to some work.

The **Chairman**. Our next witness is Mr. Bruce Miller, director of news and public affairs, for WNVT.

TESTIMONY OF BRUCE MILLER, DIRECTOR, NEWS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS, CENTRAL VIRGINIA EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION CORP., STATIONS WNVT AND WNVC, NORTHERN VIRGINIA

Mr. **Miller**. Thank you, Senator. Did you make reference that I was going to be a "calming" influence?

The **Chairman**. I said you would satisfy all the questions.

Senator **Ford**. That he would calm all the fears; I heard you.

Mr. **Miller**. Only on a limited basis, sir.

Actually, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am Bruce Miller, director of news and public affairs for WNVT and WNVC, in northern Virginia, but I speak for Mr. Daniel P. Ward, who is the vice president and general manager of these Central Virginia educational television stations, part of the Virginia public television system. I will be brief.

I come before you on behalf of our corporation to endorse the pending issue of Senate Resolution 66, and allowing television coverage of the U.S. Senate. In supporting this issue, I also request permission to televise the Senate proceedings over the open air waves in northern Virginia, and through the total Metropolitan Washington area.

WNVT is public television serving northern Virginia today on channel 53. Shortly, we will begin broadcasting on channel 56, WNVC. Now, this move, approved by the FCC, will allow us to have a better grade broadcast signal into the regional area, which means more people will pick us up.

As a public broadcasting station, we have long subscribed to the concept of government in the open. Across the land, city councils and State legislatures are regularly covered on television. The original worry of grandstanding and the lure of the camera eye, after the initial beginning, have proved without foundation. The cameras, we have found, have allowed the public to better understand the legislative concepts, to better appreciate the workings of their elected representatives.

In a packet I have given you is information that contains two statements that were made by Members of Congress on the day that WNVT began coverage of the House of Representatives, Wednesday, November 18, 1981. We continue it on a daily basis over the open airwaves.

Due to the increased reliance in this area on the Federal Government, our broadcast programing role is to provide news and public affairs coverage of events occurring at the executive and legislative branches of Government that affect the people's daily lives.

WNVT also brings daily coverage of the Virginia General Assembly from the Capitol in Richmond to the homes in northern Virginia during each convened session, and during the course of the year, our cameras bring legislative hearings on issues that will be faced at the next General Assembly session. They are broadcast on a nightly basis.

In this area more than any other area of the country, people are interested in the workings of government. They want to be informed, and they actively seek the facts of what is going on in the Capitol and in their community. I know of no better way to serve the knowledge of Government than to show Government working, and as an addendum to that, WNVT last night covered—where Senator Warner was present—an I-66 hearing that was broadcast that night to all the viewers in northern Virginia concerned about this issue.

Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Miller.

Questions, Senator Ford?

Senator FORD. I have a question or two. It seems like all the celebrities who come bring their own cameras——

Mr. MILLER. We were here when the other celebrities were here yesterday.

Senator FORD. But I see you have your cameras, and I do not want to disappoint you. I want to be sure that some of us are on it.

Let me ask you, would you favor amending the Federal Communications Act to require private broadcasters to make suitable television time available to Senate debates as part of their public affairs coverage obligation?

Mr. MILLER. Speaking as one individual, our corporation would go along with that. I could not speak for the whole industry.

Senator FORD. Is your corporation privately owned?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir. It is a community-owned license facility.

Senator FORD. How much money does your system receive from governmental entities now?

Mr. MILLER. Fifty-seven percent.

Senator FORD. Fifty-seven percent. Does that come from State, local——

Mr. MILLER. State and Federal.

Senator FORD. State and Federal dollars now operate.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator FORD. And you are here today, telling us that you favor Government spending more money so you can carry it?

Mr. MILLER. I am not necessarily saying that, sir——

Senator FORD. Well, if we go along with you, then it will increase the costs considerably to this body to put in the cameras. Of course, there are always offers to do it free of charge. But when somebody wants to do something for you for nothing, down home where I come from, you are suspicious of that. So we are going to have an additional expenditure of dollars, in addition to what you are now receiving.

Mr. MILLER. The only way I could answer that, and speaking for my boss, is that if it is the wisdom of this committee and the budget for you to go ahead and televise the Senate, that we would like to be part of it.

Senator FORD. All right. Are you educational television?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Senator FORD. You are not cable, as such?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Senator FORD. So you are educational television. Do you carry everything? How do you get to see the Congress? Now, do you carry the House, C-SPAN?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir. We have a microwave on top of the Russell Building that transmits the House feed to our station in Annandale.

Senator FORD. You are in addition to C-SPAN.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir—only in this area.

Senator FORD. Only in this area. How do you do your State legislature? I understand you said you televise them, and their constituents can see them every night. What do you do—video those, and then show them at a certain time every night?

Mr. MILLER. We do both. At 8 each night of the legislature, we bring in three or four members of the northern Virginia delegation. They all alternate and appear on the program and respond to viewer questions. They are in a studio in Richmond. We have a host in our Annandale studio. They are connected by microwave. They report on what happened that day, and then the viewers can call in and ask questions. That is the first part.

The second part, we videotape all proceedings of the Virginia Senate and the House of Delegates and rebroadcast them that night at 9:30.

Senator FORD. Everything, gavel-to-gavel.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator FORD. How long does that usually take?

Mr. MILLER. In the early stages, in the early days of the session, they are only in about maybe a half hour to 2 hours. When they get near the end of the session, the last week, they are usually in 5, 6 hours. We broadcast the last Saturday of the session, which usually goes from about 10 to 8 that night.

Senator FORD. Do you have any all-night sessions in the Virginia Legislature?

Mr. MILLER. Very seldom, sir.

Senator FORD. What if you had an all-night session?

Mr. MILLER. We have carried those. The House, when it was in its budget process several years ago, and particularly, last October, we carried it all the way through until the early hours of the morning.

Senator FORD. Is your educational operation budgeted in the Virginia State budget?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator FORD. And you then derive your funds through public broadcasting here?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator FORD. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Warner.

Senator WARNER. Mr. Miller, how long have you been involved in television and media work?

Mr. MILLER. Since 1958.

Senator WARNER. So you have had an extensive career in this field.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator WARNER. I presume you are here because, while you say you are representing your boss and so forth, you are really representing the people who utilize the service you provide. Would it be fair to say that it is your opinion that they want to see what is going on in the U.S. Senate?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator WARNER. And therefore, it is an obligation for us to consider that and see what we can do to provide it?

Mr. MILLER. I think that would be very good if you would take that approach, as an obligation. We have lots of people who call up about our House coverage, not understanding why they cannot see the particular Senate debate. They do not understand that there is no television in the Senate.

Senator WARNER. You are right. They are perplexed that they can see half the Congress in some form of operation, and they cannot see the other half, which casts some suspicion on what we might be doing over here.

Mr. MILLER. Well, I do not know about suspicion, but there certainly is a question of doubt.

Senator WARNER. Yes. Now, when you started to televise the Virginia State Legislature, have you any idea as to how the audience developed and began to follow the program? Did the audience increase?

Mr. MILLER. It definitely increased. We started out in 1968. We did it on a limited debate basis and found that there was more interest, more attention drawn by phone calls and letters, and corporations willing to underwrite such a program, that it has been expanded, particularly in the northern Virginia area, to a nightly coverage basis. It is carried weekly on a Virginia State public television network.

Senator WARNER. So it has been successful and informative.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator WARNER. Otherwise, you would have dropped it?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator WARNER. Because you are in business to stay in business.

Mr. MILLER. Well, not necessarily to entertain, but to inform.

Senator WARNER. Did you notice in following the General Assembly of Virginia since 1968 that the character of that body changed?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator WARNER. In what respect?

Mr. MILLER. More responsive to the people at home, to the issues. It has had a direct effect where people would get on the air during the course of a debate, or they were on the air during the course of a debate, and in a subsequent debate, have made reference to the fact that they had said in their first debate they did not know what the people thought of this issue, and then they found out with calls and letters, and then when they went to the second phase of the debate, were able to say, "I have heard from the people, and this is what they want." And in many cases, I have seen people who took one particular stand and changed that stand because of the input from the public.

Senator WARNER. And that input is derived from what they saw primarily on television?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator WARNER. Not through the newsletters and other mailings, but what they saw on television?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir, particularly in the northern Virginia area.

Senator WARNER. Well, would it be your judgment that that change is for the better, positive?

Mr. MILLER. Definitely. The more the representatives know the wishes of the people—as in your case last night, you know how people feel about I-66—the more you can represent them and take a stand on what they want.

Senator WARNER. Thank you very much for joining us today.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you for having me.

Senator FORD. Mr. Chairman, I do not think you needed the hearing last night to know how the people felt on I-66 about four passengers to an automobile. I think that was very well covered, and I think that that was a foregone conclusion.

Senator WARNER. Now, before you leave that issue——

Senator FORD. I am not going to leave that issue.

Senator WARNER. I want to assure you that it was a fairly interesting division. It is like the old politician who was asked, "How are you going to vote?" And he said, "Some of my friends are for it, and some are against it, and I think I am going to vote with my friends." It was that situation last night.

Senator FORD. You cannot divide your vote.

There are two more questions I would like to ask Mr. Miller. You say that your corporate income increased, and 43 percent of your income, as I understood you, comes from sources other than tax dollars. How do you derive that other 43 percent?

Mr. MILLER. In public television, we have what we call auctions, festivals, pledge periods, pledge programs, asking people to support public television by calling in and making a pledge, and then they get an envelope and send the money in.

Senator FORD. But you said you had corporate ads.

Mr. MILLER. Well, corporate underwriting. On many programs, you will see that, "Production funds for this program have been provided by a grant from—" and the name of the company will go on the screen at the beginning and end of the program only.

Senator FORD. Do you do that during the programing of the State legislature?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator Ford. Do you really believe the U.S. Senate can function as a national town meeting?

Mr. Miller. The House does, sir.

Senator Ford. But the Senate is not the House. Everybody draws attention to the House.

In the House they have 1 minute you can speak. You have to speak from the same place. You have limited debate. You have all these differences and more. You are asking us to do a horrendous thing by just opening up the Senate to cameras. The minute you turn your cameras on, you have a lot of folks out here who are doing lots of things, and your camera on me or on you, that is just a minute part of what has to transpire. You say you have the dish on top of the Russell Building, so you can beam it back to northern Virginia. Well, we see the camera here that you brought with you today, and yet, it is going upstairs, it is hitting that disc, and it is going down to northern Virginia. It is either being videoed or it is live, and then you video that.

So there is a lot you are asking us to do. And I do not believe on that side, they understand what is required on this side in order to put the camera in the Chamber.

Mr. Miller. I totally agree with you. I am not in your position, and I would not want to have to make those decisions, but——

Senator Ford. But you are here today, asking us to make those decisions.

Mr. Miller. If you do agree to allow television coverage, we would like to be part of it. If you decide not to, then that is your choice.

Senator Ford. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. I have just one question. In the happy event that we should be able to televise the Senate, how would you handle your present broadcast of the House and the Senate?

Mr. Miller. We are going through that now with several alternatives. We do have two channels, so we could solve the problem, one on one channel and one on the other. In looking back, there are many debates that have taken place in the Senate while the House was in a pro forma session and vice versa, and I think the magnitude of the problem is not as impossible to resolve as a lot of people have made it out to be. There is the other option, as has been brought up by Senator Ford, that you can put one on live videotape, the other for rebroadcast, depending on one's definition of prime time. Most people want to see the House live, as it is going on. It could be in the wishes of the Senate that they want to videotape it for rebroadcast. That could be evening prime time. It would depend on how you attack the problem.

I would assume that you would set up a committee similar to what the House does, to work this out, that we would be able to work with for input on how we could work with the Senate in this coverage.

The Chairman. But that is not a major problem for you, and certainly would not deter you.

Mr. Miller. No, sir. It would not deter us at all.

The Chairman. Are there any further questions of Mr. Miller?

Senator Warner. Thank you very much, Mr. Miller.

Mr. Miller. Thank you, gentlemen.

[The prepared statement of Daniel P. Ward follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DANIEL P. WARD, VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER, CENTRAL VIRGINIA EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION CORP., STATIONS WNVT AND WNVC, NORTHERN VIRGINIA

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee: I will be brief. I come before you to endorse the pending issue of allowing televised coverage of the U.S. Senate. In supporting this issue, I also request permission to televise the Senate proceedings over the air in Northern Virginia, and the Metropolitan Washington area.

WNVT is public television serving Northern Virginia today on Channel 53. Shortly, we will begin broadcasting on Channel 56, WNVC. This move, approved by the F.C.C. will allow us to have a better grade broadcast signal into the regional area.

As a public broadcast station, we have long subscribed to the concept of government in the open. Across the land, City Council and State Legislatures are regularly covered on television. The original worry of grandstanding and the lure of the camera eye, after the initial beginning, have proved without foundation. The cameras have allowed the public to better understand the legislative concepts, to better appreciate the working of their elected representatives.

I have given you a packet of information that contains two statements that were made by members of Congress on the day WNVT began coverage of the House of Representatives, on Wednesday, November 18th, 1981. I have also included a recent Northern Virginia newspaper article about Channel 56 and a coverage map of the proposed area served by this new noncommercial public television station.

Due to the increased reliance of this area on the Federal Government, our broadcast programming role is to provide news and public affairs coverage of events occuring at the Executive and Legislative branches of government that affect people's daily lives.

WNVT also brings daily coverage of the Virginia General Assembly from the Capitol in Richmond to the homes in Northern Virginia during each convened session.

In this area, more than any other areas of the country, people are interested in the working of government. They want to be informed and they actively seek the facts of what is going on in the Capitol. I know of no better way to serve the knowledge of government than to show government working.

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 97th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 127 WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1981 *No. 169*

WNVT BEGINS BROADCASTING HOUSE PROCEEDINGS TO NORTHERN VIRGINIA RESIDENTS

HON. STAN PARRIS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 18, 1981

● Mr. PARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that WNVT television, northern Virginia's public television station, has recently begun televising the proceedings of the House of Representatives. I have been working with my colleague from northern Virginia, FRANK WOLF, in an effort to obtain permission from the House of Representatives so that WNVT could begin broadcasting. Now that the transmissions from the Capitol to WNVT's studios are underway, northern Virginia residents will be able to view this House at work.

WNVT operates on channel 53 and also has a transmitter station, channel 14, in Arlington, which repeats the WNVT programing. Channel 14 is being used as a low-powered station during the hours that the House is in session, and channel 53 for broadcasting classroom programs for the Arlington-Fairfax school systems. Once the school programs are over for the day, channel 53 picks up the House broadcasts.

This station should be commended for providing northern Virginia with informative and educational programing. We all benefit when our communities are made more aware of advances in science and technology and kept abreast of important issues before Congress. I congratulate WNVT on its insight and the initiative it has taken in providing a valuable public service.●

United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 97th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 127 WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1981 No. 165

House of Representatives

HISTORIC FIRST TELECAST OF HOUSE PROCEEDINGS TO WASHINGTON VIEWERS

(Mr. ANNUNZIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, today marks the first time that the House of Representatives will be televised live in the Washington area on other than cable television. WNVT-TV channels 53/14 in northern Virginia, is carrying the broadcasts, and the station is to be commended for its efforts in bringing about these broadcasts.

I want to especially commend the gentleman fron North Carolina (Mr. ROSE), chairman of the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting, for arranging for these telecasts. Mr. ROSE has protected both the integrity of the House and the right of the American people to see Congress in action by making certain that the proceedings of the House are available to the widest possible audience and on a cost-free basis.

Mr. Speaker, there are some who feel that the House broadcasts do not belong to the people, but rather are the property of private industry. Mr. ROSE has made certain by bringing about the start of live telecasts that the proceedings of the House, the House of the people, will be available to the people without charge.

Once again, I commend Chairman ROSE, and I commend WNVT, its president, B. W. Spiller, its vice president and general manager, Dan Ward, and its director of news and public affairs, Bruce Miller, for this television first.

WNVT-TV COMMENDED FOR TELECASTING ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSE

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 12, 1981

● Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, the legislative process enacted here in Washington, D.C. remains to be a greater mystery to millions of people throughout all of America. While a limited number of people have the opportunity to witness the Congress in action, too little effort has been made to make our activities visible to most of the people in this country.

It is vital for the American people to have greater access to any opportunity that provides them a better understanding of the legislative process.

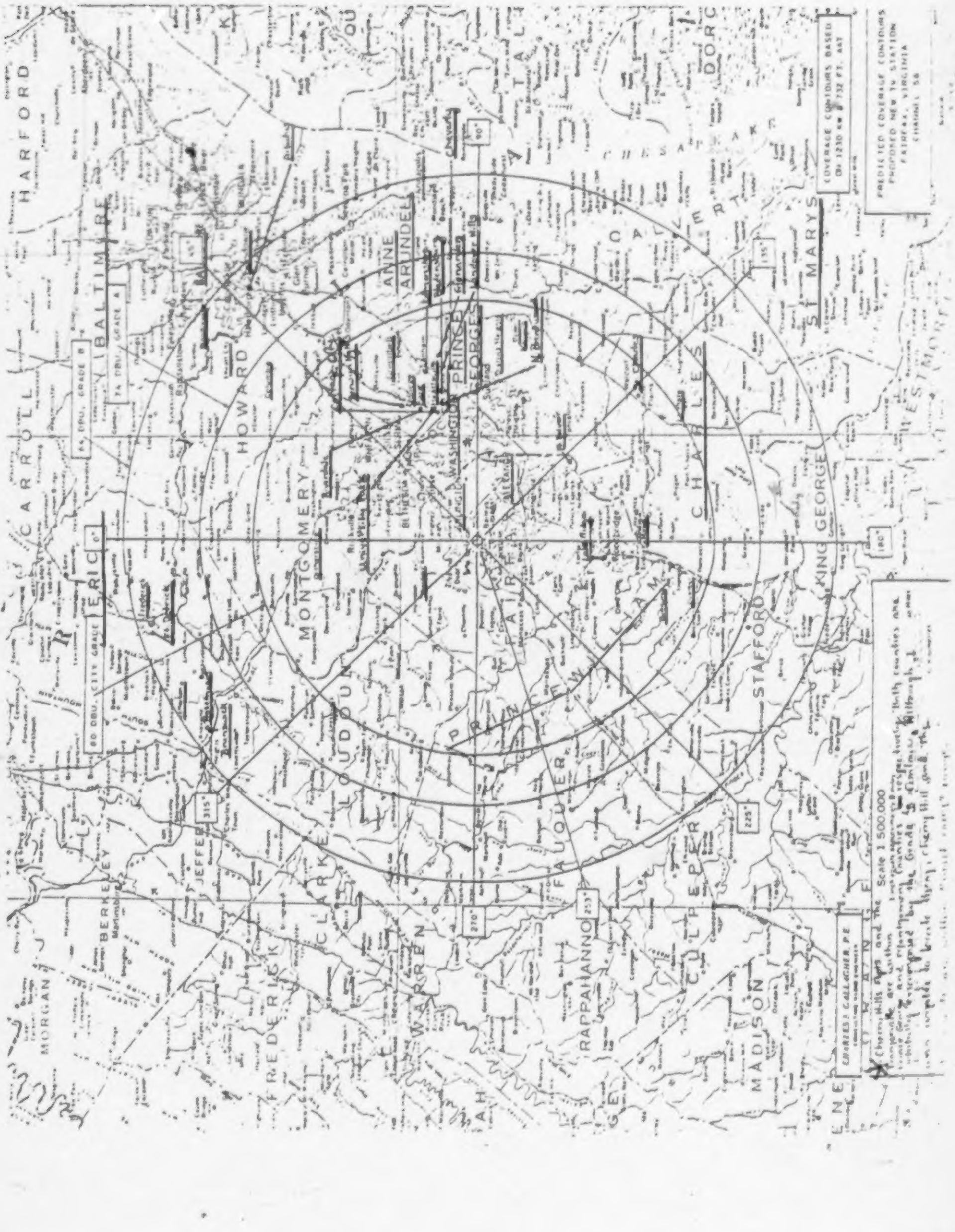
Sadly enough this is the case right here in Washington, D.C., the Nation's Capital, until today. WNVT-TV, an independent television station in northern Virginia, has stepped in to fill a tremendous void by telecasting the activities of the House throughout the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., area.

This is another good example of the expanding role independent television stations play for countless receivers, not only in northern Virginia, but throughout the entire United States.

WNVT-TV has an outstanding record of public service and has performed admirably in providing programing of local, regional, and national interest and scope.

By extending its coverage to include the House proceedings, WNVT extends its commitment and addresses itself to a community with a very close bond to Government.

WNVT is to be commended for realizing the importance and value such programing provides for the viewing public.●


PREDICTED COVERAGE CONTOURS
PROPOSED NEW TV STATION
FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA
CHANNEL 56
COVERAGE CONTOURS BASED
ON 1230 kw 732 FT. AAT
HARFORD
CARROLL
BALTIMORE
HOWARD
MONTGOMERY
ANNE ARUNDEL
PRINCE GEORGES
CALVERT
ST MARYS
CHARLES
KING GEORGE
STAFFORD
PRINCE WILLIAM
FAIRFAX
LOUDOUN
FAUQUIER
CULPEPER
RAPPAHANNOCK
MADISON
WARREN
CLARKE
FREDERICK
JEFFERSON
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MORGAN
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0°
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90°
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180°
225°
270°
315°
Scale 1:500,000
CHARLES J. GALLAGHER, P.E.

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Public TV Antenna Draws Some Static

TOWER From A1

rubbernecking motorists and complaints from some residents of the Merrifield area.

The eye-catching antenna advertises its existence to aircraft and earthlings alike with a series of bright, flashing white strobe lights.

The tip of the tower is 1,490 feet above sea level — roughly the same elevation as the Eiffel Tower in Paris. The antenna itself is 124 feet higher than the Washington Monument and more than twice as high as the George Washington Masonic Memorial in Alexandria.

"I didn't expect it to be quite as obtrusive," said Providence District Supervisor James M. Scott, whose office has received citizen complaints about the lights.

"Channel 53 is a real service. I have no question about the value of their service. I just didn't anticipate how that facility would look," he said.

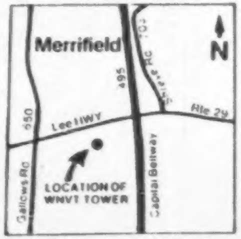
Bob Hull, an aide to Scott, looked into the complaints and learned that the strobe lights were ordered by the Federal Aviation Administration to protect helicopter traffic. The Capital Beltway forms an air lane for choppers.

When the county government held hearings on the tower last year "it was hard to conceive then what it would look like," said Merrifield resident Lake Lester.

Lester is president of the 296-apartment Yorktown Square condominium association, next to the new studio site.

The TV station, he said, has agreed to give the condo owners money to plant shrubs and trees and build a fence to form a barrier from the tower.

The tower is so high, Lester said that its presence is felt more



Journal map by Rob McRoy

Merrifield tower: *Hard to miss*

in communities farther from it than his. The major concern of those who live in the condominiums, he said, is whether the antenna will have any effect on their radio and TV reception when Channel 56 begins operation.

"I know people have called and wondered what it is, and we've had a couple of phone calls with criticism about the flashing lights," said Dan Ward, WNVT's vice president.

For Ward and his colleagues, however, the antenna means the fruition of five years of hard work to bring about the expansion plan.

The project has required the approval of the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Aviation Administration, the Fairfax County government and the state government, which put up $1 million for the proposal.

The TV company has two stations in Richmond and a TV transmission tower in Loudoun County for its present Northern Virginia service.

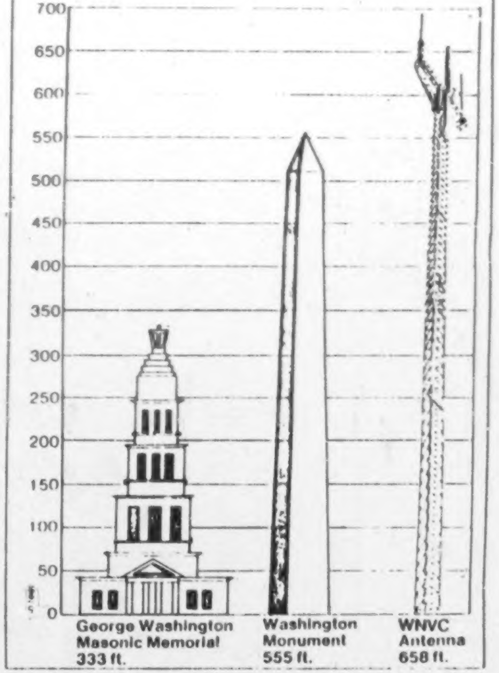
The expansion is aimed at improving reception in the metropolitan area. Now, even viewers in Northern Virginia have difficulty tuning in to Channel 53.

Like Channel 53, the new station will focus on local, state and federal news and public affairs programming, including C-Span coverage of Congress.

Channel 53 will stay on the air, but will close its studio at the Annandale campus of Northern Virginia Community College and relocate in Merrifield.

The Sky's the Limit

The Central Virginia Educational Television Corporation antenna could be the tallest structure in Northern Virginia



Journal chart by Rob McRoy

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THE FAIRFAX Journal
Fairfax County's Daily Newspaper
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 1983
ABC Member Audit Bureau of Circulations
EDITORIAL (703)750-2000 CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

High Anxiety

Journal photo by Jim [illegible]

Public TV antenna off Beltway near Merrifield

New TV Tower Draws Static From Neighbors

By ADRIAN HIGGINS

Journal photo by Jim [illegible]

Public TV antenna off Beltway near Merrifield

New TV Tower Draws Static From Neighbors

By ADRIAN HIGGINS

Journal Staff Writer

A winking, blinking television tower 124 feet taller than the Washington Monument is getting a poor reception from its new neighbors near the Capital Beltway in Fairfax.

But for its owners, Central Virginia Educational Television Corp., the tower is a welcome sight after five years of pushing plans through governmental red tape.

The recently completed antenna — at 658 feet probably the tallest structure in Northern Virginia — is part of a $2.9 million expansion plan by the public television company which operates WNVT-Channel 53.

The company is building a studio in Merrifield next to the antenna and plans later this year to open a second TV station, WNVC-Channel 56.

The tower draws stares from

Please see TOWER, A4

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The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything further, Senator Ford?

Senator FORD. No, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. If not, the committee stands in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 12:12 p.m., the committee was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

○